

Final Research Report

**The Operation of the Underground Railroad
in Washington, D.C.,
c. 1800–1860**

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The Historical Society of Washington D.C. and the National Park Service*

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Introduction

Research Outline and Parameters

This report fulfills a major requirement of Cooperative Agreement No. 1443CA3040991011, between the Historical Society of Washington and the National Park Service. The research for this project focused on the period before the outbreak of the Civil War, and on the 10-mile square of the District of Columbia. It thus includes Alexandria and Alexandria County, but only until their retrocession to Virginia in 1846.

Research concentrated on a fairly traditional definition of the underground railroad, and on networks and individuals who covertly offered illegal and tangible assistance to those fleeing slavery and the slave states. The project's definition did not include every aspect of slavery and resistance to it in the District of Columbia—including the location of slave pens, the kidnapping of free African Americans to sell them into slavery, and the purchase of enslaved people in order to free them. 1

The components of the report and the research undertaken are outlined below, followed by brief remarks on sites and structures of the underground railroad in Washington: a three-tier classification is proposed. An overview of the recent scholarship on major conspirators and underground railroad networks that were in operation in Washington is also provided as a general framework for the report, along with a basic chronology and summarized Census data.

Parts I to V

The first phase of the project entailed the compilation of an extensive bibliography, partially annotated (Part I). Like it, the rest of the report is intended to serve as a tool for further research. Each section is introduced with an essay; a selection of illustrations follow Parts II to V.

Part II reflects the results of a search for evidence of underground railroad activities in the National Archives Record Group 21, the very large collection of papers of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. These Circuit Court records proved to be a valuable resource for the topic—one hardly tapped by scholars—though the case files are badly in need of more indexing. In the mass of files and bound volumes, it was often difficult to locate all trial documents and to discover the consequences that befell those persons charged with abetting of escapes from slavery. More research will be required to discover the outcomes of some court proceedings listed in sections A and B.

Both of these sections offer chronologically arranged lists of Circuit Court cases: Section A encompasses cases entailing flights from slavery, the abetting of escapes, and “slave stealing,” while Section B includes cases involving the publishing and distribution of “seditious” abolitionist tracts, challenges to the black codes that underpinned the slave system, and other cases that impacted the civil rights of black Washingtonians. Part C provides the legal context for these cases: a summary of the laws and regulations that affected runaways and their abettors, as well as those that affecting the daily lives of free African Americans in the District. Many in the latter category—like the 10 p.m. curfew —also influenced the logistics of assisting escapes from slavery.

Part III focuses on recorded escapes from slavery. Its Section A provides a chronological list of runaway notices that were posted in the *National Intelligencer* between 1800 and 1829. Though these flights from slavery may not have always (or even often) ended in freedom, some of them undoubtedly did. Section B reflects successful escapes from or through the District, evidenced in the testimonials of two underground railroad activists—Thomas Smallwood in Washington and William Still in Philadelphia. The third category (C) offers a list of the fugitives who participated in the dramatic mass escape in April 1848 on the schooner *Pearl*. Though the effort failed, it was the most famous underground railroad incident in Washington’s history, one that received national attention and had far-reaching consequences. Though the so-called Pearl Affair has stimulated some historical scholarship, none of it to date has paid much specific attention to the large group of fugitives or recorded their names.

Part IV comprises detailed listings of antebellum African American churches, schools, and benevolent societies—institutions that were likely to have been at the center of (or at least involved with) underground railroad activities in the District of Columbia. Several churches have been so credited in historical accounts—notably Mount Zion, Israel Bethel, St. Paul AME, Second Baptist, and Union Wesley. While there is some historical scholarship on African American churches in Washington, extracting their basic data for the antebellum period (Section A) was a time-consuming task. The same is true of the basic information relating to antebellum black schools (Section B). Though have received some scholarly attention, such publications have not make much of the fact that at least four teachers were jailed for abetting escapes from slavery, and that others were deeply involved in the abolitionist movement. The subversive nature of these schools seems to have been recognized by pro-slavery white ruffians, who targeted them for attack in 1835 and at other times.

Less evidence was discovered of the plausible connections that may have existed between underground railroad networks and secret and benevolent societies (Section C). Such connections would appear to be worth pursuing, though the research task is formidable.

Part V consists of biographical sketches of underground railroad activists and those who forwarded the cause of abolition and civil rights. It includes prominent African American leaders and community builders,

many of whose names occurred in more than one section of Part IV, as founders of schools, churches, and benevolent societies. The listing also includes less well known names, derived from Section II, of those who appeared in the District Court because they were charged with being abettors of escapes or because they had launched courageous legal challenges to the black code in the District.

Each of the five compilations need to be expanded, amended, refined, and subjected to critical and scholarly analysis: they are merely building blocks that can be used to help construct a more comprehensive history of the operation of the underground railroad in Washington. In the meantime, the listings would seem to fill a need for a bibliography and basic “tombstone” data that can be easily used by museum curators, National Park Service interpreters, and other researchers.

Sites and Structures

A focus on sites has been firmly kept in mind throughout the research for this project and the compilation of the bibliography. Wherever possible, addresses have been provided in these compilations, though most of them are the vague stuff of antebellum city directories.

More needs to be done to pinpoint important sites in the City’s underground railroad history, though evidently no buildings that date from that period that have singular and consequential associations with the topic have survived. None of the antebellum residences of important underground activists have survived: neither have the antebellum structures of African American churches and schools that were linked with underground railroad activities.

A burial vault in Mount Zion Cemetery, Georgetown, appears to be one of the only existing historic structures that is directly associated with the underground railroad—an association this is based on a powerful oral tradition rather than on traditional historical documentation. Still, in some reputable historical studies, this brick vault is acknowledged as a hiding place for those escaping slavery.

The vault was assessed in August 1998 by Blaine Cliver, Chief of the Historic American Buildings Survey/ Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) Division of the National Park Service. He concluded that the structure would have been reasonably expensive to build at the time, that its brick “is of a size used before the Civil War”, that the original mortar is lime-based (common until the 20th century), and that the shape of the structure, “...especially the vaulted arch entrance, was a construction not common in the United States until after the Civil War, but some examples of it may have existed in the 1850s.” The date of the vault’s iron door and hinges was estimated as “prior to 1880.”

Halcyon House (or the Stoddert House) on Prospect Street, Georgetown, is another historic building that is claimed to have been used by those escaping slavery, though the published accounts in this regard are flimsy

and melodramatic, involving a tunnel from the Potomac River, deaths in a damp cellar, and the screams of anguished ghosts. The house lacks any known connection to abolitionists; indeed, it was owned by slaveholders in the early part of the century. Rumors of a tunnel probably stemmed from non-stop and bizarre remodeling by a late 19th-century owner, who created hidden rooms and doors that led nowhere for no sane reason. (No evidence of a tunnel turned up during an archaeological investigation of the house's basement in recent years.)

Hiding places like tunnels and vaults seem to have great popular appeal as underground railroad sites. A few specific hiding places were referenced in sources consulted. Historian Larry Gara quoted an August 1858 issue of the *Liberator* which claimed that in Washington D.C. "one runaway slave lived five months in a...Methodist church attic before he was discovered." Local underground railroad activist Thomas Smallwood referred in his 1851 memoir to fugitives hiding out in the loft of a stable, and to a woman being concealed in some corn in his back garden when the police arrived at his front door.

Still, such hiding places may not have been such a common experience of runaway from slavery in Washington. Though a disgruntled letter writer in 1833 went much too far in characterizing slave escapes from Washington as "a comfortable ride in the stage via Baltimore," court records and statements in runaway ads testify to runaways hiding in plain sight, blending into Washington's relatively large free black population, making use of forged free papers, and obtaining passage on vessels and public stages.

A focus on hiding places that are more or less generic—i.e., that lack any specific information about who hid there and when—serves to eclipse locations that may speak more importantly to singular aspects of the history of the underground railroad and abolitionism in Washington. Among these are locations that were closely connected to underground railroad activists like Leonard Grimes or Charles T. Torrey, meeting places like the 7th Street wharf from which the schooner *Pearl* embarked with 77 fugitives in April of 1848, the two locations of the *National Era*, the city's only lasting abolitionist newspaper, and the sites of antebellum African American schools and churches which, more often than not, played a crucial role in the story. It is very unfortunate no historic structures have survived on sites with such intimate and unique connections to the history of the underground railroad in the city.

One historic building on its original location whose integrity remains intact and that has a potent association with the theme is the old City Hall and Circuit Court building (now D.C. Superior Court at Judiciary Square). Admittedly, the significance of this building goes well beyond its connection with the underground railroad, but from the early 1820s it witnessed the trials of several abettors of slave escapes and abolitionists accused of sedition. Further, in December 1829, the building was used as the site of The American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, by invitation of the Mayor.

Arguably, this historic building is an important survivor that played an important role in the history of the underground railroad and the antislavery struggle in the District of Columbia. Perhaps it could be considered within a “second tier” of underground railroad sites: where pivotal events occurred and of lasting significance to the story, but which are not, like “first tier” sites, primarily and intimately associated with the history of the underground railroad.

“Third tier” sites might include the many extant antebellum mansions and other authentic and historic local buildings that merely witnessed escapes from slavery. Unless the escape(s) in question had a substantial impact—either on the development of the underground railroad in Washington, or on the site and the people who lived and worked there, such incidents may not suffice to transform these structures into underground railroad sites. Their dominant stories and resonant messages are likely to remain centered on privilege and enslavement—rather than resistance and liberation.

Conspirators and Networks: A Brief Overview of Recent Scholarship

No one has yet published a comprehensive history of the operation of the underground railroad in Washington, D.C. The city is seldom mentioned in general accounts of the underground railroad, and most histories of Washington contain few references to its resident activists or to flights from slavery that occurred here, even though they included one of the largest attempted escapes in the country.

Stanley Harrold’s forthcoming book, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828–1865*, promises to fill the gap. His recent articles have shed much light on important activists in the District who have been generally omitted from its history books: Charles T. Torrey, William L. Chaplin, and Jacob Bigelow. All three were white men, but they worked successively and successfully with a biracial coalition of antislavery activists of both genders. Among their co-conspirators resident in the District were two boarding house landladies, Mrs. Padgett and Mrs. Sprigg, two African American couples, Thomas and Elizabeth Smallwood, and Luke and Sarah Carter, and even a prominent and notorious white couple, John and Peggy O’Neale Eaton.

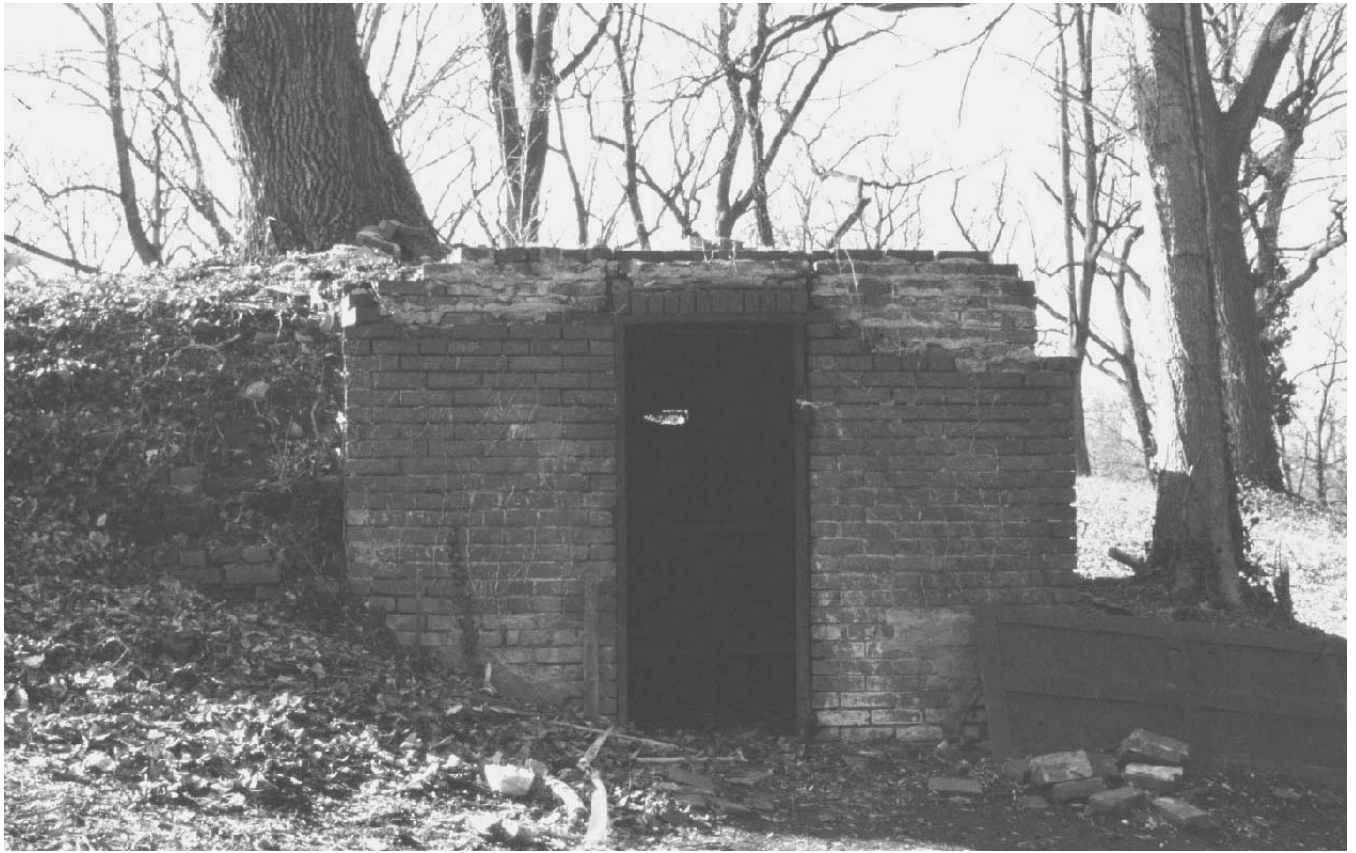
Taken together, out-of-town networks connected to Washington included “a most respectable lady of Baltimore,” James G. Bias, an African American dentist in Philadelphia, and more famous abolitionists like William Still of Philadelphia and Thomas Garret of Wilmington, Delaware. The collective contacts of Torrey, Chaplin, and Bigelow also extended to Troy, Albany, and Syracuse, New York, and across the border to Toronto and Buxton, Canada West (Ontario).

Harrold has unraveled the financial and other support provided for these collective efforts by Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York (an immensely wealthy radical abolitionist associated with the Liberty Party), and by Lewis Tappan (a wealthy merchant of New York City and a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society).

Harrold's research promises to move the pendulum from the extreme position taken by Larry Gara's *Liberty Line*—which virtually denied the existence of the underground railroad except as myth—but it does not swing it back to an earlier view of the role of African Americans in the underground railroad as passive receptors of white assistance and as victims.

Harrold's work has benefited from his detailed review of antislavery newspapers and the correspondence of these activists, located in archival collections and libraries outside of Washington. Such research would be required to support a more comprehensive study, and to demystify and flesh out the following quotation from *The Black Abolitionist Papers*:

The Washington, D.C., section of the underground network displayed uncommon daring and design. Beginning in the mid-1830s and continuing for over a decade, Washington blacks freed thousands of slaves from plantations in Virginia and Maryland. Working in a variety of trades and professions—porters in the U.S. Supreme Court, assistants to federal marshals, operators of common carriage services, or itinerant ministers—these bold blacks utilized their good standing in white society to visit plantations, provide slaves with escape information, and shelter fugitives, sometimes on the property of their white employers. Thomas Tilly, a coachman for a federal marshal, held religious services for slaves on Virginia and Maryland plantations, using the ceremonies to encourage escapes and direct fugitives to safe rendezvous points. Jacob R. Gibbs, a Baltimore painter who may have aided as many as two thousand fugitives, maintained a file of free papers from deceased blacks, which he gave to runaways to insure their safe passage. When one group of fugitive slaves was captured, the Washington network rescued them from a slave pen where they were being held.



The burial vault at Mt. Zion Cemetery. (Hilary Russell)



The Stoddert House, Prospect St., Georgetown. (Hilary Russell)

D.M. M'Clelland, *Map of the City of Washington*, 1946.



The City Hall/District Court House of the District of Columbia. (MLK Library, Washingtoniana.)



Gerrit Smith, 1797—1874
LC-USZ62-15401

Lewis Tappan, 1788–1873)
LC USZ62-47919

**Part I: A Bibliography Relating to the
Underground Railroad and Abolitionism
In the District of Columbia**

Index for Bibliography

pages

Introduction

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- 1. Histories of the Anti-Slavery Crusade and the Underground Railroad in the District of Columbia**
- 2. Other Histories and Studies Relating to African Americans in the District of Columbia**
- 3. Historic Buildings and Sites in Washington, D.C.**
- 4. Other Histories and Contemporary Accounts of the District of Columbia**

D. Secondary Sources: the Larger Context

- 1. The Abolitionist Movement and the Underground Railroad—General**
- 2. Other Contextual Studies Relating to Race, Slavery, and Freedom**

Introduction

This bibliography focuses on finding aids, archival documents, publications and theses that shed light on the operation of the Underground Railroad and the anti-slavery struggle in the District of Columbia, from about 1800 to 1860. It is intended to assist other researchers attracted the topic and to obviate the need for all of them to begin with basic bibliographical research.

The bibliography is partially annotated. Not all sources listed were reviewed. Further, many annotations are intended to convey the content of a manuscript collection, book, article or thesis, rather than a critical evaluation. Many titles are sufficient to this purpose.

Primary Sources (Category B)

The manuscripts and other archival documents that are listed in section B.1 are contained within major research facilities in Washington, D.C. The depositaries visited were those with indexed holdings and offering ready public access: this bibliography does not include records in church archives or private hands.

A significant portion of time on this contract was spent examining National Archives Record Group 21, the papers of the District Court of the District of Columbia. This is an underused and valuable collection for the topic, since these court records documented persons charged in the District with assisting escapes from slavery and those accused of distributing or publishing abolitionist literature. Publications listed in section B.6, "Laws and Court Decisions Relating to Slavery and Free Blacks in the District of Columbia" provide a needed framework and context for research in these court records. The relevant cases located within this record group are listed in another submission, "Circuit Court Records Relating to the Underground Railroad and Abolitionism in the District of Columbia."

Primary source publications included in Category B in this bibliography are contemporaneous. Section B.2, "Contemporary Accounts Relating to the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C.," mostly consist of publications by the anti-slavery movement and Congressional debates on the abolition of slavery in the District. (Among the former are pamphlets that detail and denounce the arrest and subsequent treatment of three white men who were famously charged with aiding escapes from slavery in the District: Charles Torrey, Daniel Drayton, and William Chaplin.)

Maps, directories, and guides are included in sections B.3, B.4, and B.5: these tools help to determine the locations of sites and addresses of people associated with abolitionism and the underground railroad.

Secondary Sources (Category C and D)

Within the secondary sources listed (Category C), this bibliography has attempted to encompass all published accounts and theses relating to the history of African Americans in Washington, D.C. during the antebellum period. These sources are likely to provide the most important windows to significant people, institutions, sites, and incidents in the history of the Underground Railroad in the city. The bibliographical listing also contains histories that focus on the African American population in the post-emancipation period, since many of these will include valuable introductory and retrospective chapters and useful bibliographies.

The list of contextual secondary sources (Category D) presupposes that researchers deeply engaging the topic of the operation of the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C., need to be steeped in the history of slavery (and the laws and institutions that supported it) in the District, along with the history of the free black community in the region.

A.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC AND FINDING AIDS

Alexandria Library, Lloyd House

African American History and Genealogy: a Resource Guide. Alexandria, Va.: Alexandria Library, 1990.

Angevine, Erma

Research in the District of Columbia. Arlington, Va.: National Genealogical Society, 1992.

Barber, Lucy

"African American History Sources: A Bibliography." The Alexandria Library, Lloyd House Archives, Alexandria, Va. [List of sources and references relating to Alexandria, Va.]

Battle, Thomas Cornell

"Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia: An Annotated Guide." Ph.D., George Washington University, 1982. [Comprehensive and annotated bibliography, with introductory scholarly essay.]

Bergheim, Laura

The Look-It-Up Guide to Washington Libraries and Archives. Osprey, Fl.: Beacham Publishing, 1995. [A guide to local libraries and archives organized under the following headings: federal collections, university and college resources, public libraries and other municipal collections, and special collections: eg. churches, historical societies and museums.]

Bethel, Elizabeth

"Material in the National Archives Relating to the Early History of the District of Columbia." *CHS Records*, 42–3 (1940–1), 169–87.

Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart

Bibliography of the District of Columbia. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900. [An early and comprehensive work by an important scholar of the District's history]

Calvan, Rita A., comp.

Selected Theses & Dissertations on the Washington, D.C. Region. Washington, D.C.: Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University [1982]. [List is not annotated, but organized by subject: eg. "Racial and Ethnic Communities; civil rights]

Carter, George E. and C. Peter Ripley, eds.

Black Abolitionist Papers, 1830–1865. A Guide to the Microfilm Edition. Microfilming Corporation of America, 1981. [An index, organized by author, recipient, and first word of formal titles, of ca. 14,000 documents written by nearly 300 black men and women involved in the movement to end slavery in the United States between 1830 and 1865.]

Catterall, Helen Tunnicliff, ed.

Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Vol. 1. Cases from the Courts of ... Virginia...; Vol. 4. Cases from the Courts of ... the Middle States, and the District of Columbia. Reprint of 1968 edition. Buffalo: W.S. Hein, 1998. [A compilation,

arranged chronologically and by state, of "...the historical materials concerning American slavery and the negro that are to be found imbedded in the published volumes of judicial reports."]

Chaffee, Kevin, ed.

Fifty Maps of Washington, D.C. New York: H.M. Gousha, 1991.

Colket, Meredith Bright

"The Public Records of the District of Columbia." *CHS Records*, 48–9 (1946–7), 281–99.

Collins, Kathleen

Washingtoniana Photographs: Collections in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989.

Cook, Eleanor Mildred Vaughan

Guide to the Records of Montgomery County, Maryland: Genealogical and Historical. Westminster, Md: Family Line Publications, 1997.

Guide to the Records of Your District of Columbia Ancestors. Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1987.

Cosentino, Andrew J. and Richard W. Stephenson

City of Magnificent Distances: The Nation's Capital: A Checklist. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991. [List and commentary on DC maps]

Dumond, Dwight L.

A Bibliography of Anti-Slavery in America. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961. [A comprehensive list of printed literature written and circulated by persons active in the antislavery movement, including Congressional speeches.]

Finkelman, Paul

Slavery in the Courtroom: An Annotated Bibliography of American Cases. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1985. [An annotated list of pamphlets and other primary source accounts of trials dealing with slavery and fugitive slave cases, derived from the Trials Collection at the Library of Congress. Includes the trials of Reuben Crandall, Drayton v. United States, and In re William Chaplin.]

Fisher, Perry G.

Materials for the Study of Washington. A Selected Annotated Bibliography. GWU Washington Studies No. 1. George Washington University, 1974. [Contains lengthy, pointed, and very useful annotations]

Fisher, Perry G. and Linda S. Lear

A Selected Bibliography for Washington Studies and Descriptions of Major Local Collections. GWU Washington Studies No. 8. George Washington University, 1981. [An updated version of the previous listing]

Gilmore, Matthew

"Black Washingtoniana: A (Preliminary) Basic Bibliography of Materials Relating to Blacks in the Collections of the Washingtoniana Division, D.C. Public Library." Rev. ed. M.L.King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C., 2000. [Unpublished typescript]

Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Gerrit Smith Papers. Microfilming Corporation of America, Glen Rock, N.H., 1975. [Papers of an influential New York abolitionist connected to DC's underground railroad history]

Ham, Debra Newman, ed.

The African American Mosaic: A Library of Congress Resource Guide for the Study of Black History & Culture. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1993. [A "broad survey of the library's holdings in the history and culture of Black Americans," including descriptions of a variety of sources in its general and special collections.]

Haskins, Faye

"Guide to Archival Collections. D.C. Community Archives". Washingtoniana Division, M.L.King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, D.C., 2000. [Unpublished guide to this division's archival collections.]

Hoagland, Kim

Guide to Resources for Researching Historic Buildings in Washington, D.C. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1982.

McGirr, Newman F.

"Illustrations in the Records of the Columbia Historical Society. Volumes 1–42/43, Printed 1897–1942: a Subject Index." *CHS Records*, 44–45 (1942–3), 271–307.

Meglis, Anne Llewellyn, comp.

A Bibliographic Tour of Washington, D.C. Washington, D.C.: D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency, 1974. [A compilation of selected references on the architectural development of early residential and commercial areas.]

Miller, Elizabeth J.

The Columbia Historical Society Guide to Research Collections. Washington, D.C.: The Society, 1984. [16-page booklet that outlines major manuscript, map, print and photograph collections now at the Library of the Historical Society of Washington, D.C.]

Miller, Elizabeth W., comp.

The Negro in America: a Bibliography. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

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Redmann, Gail

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Smith, Cheryl Goza and Raymond L. Collins

"Paths Towards Freedom: A Bibliography of the Underground Railroad." *Illinois Libraries*, 80, 4 (Fall 1998) p. 222.

Smith, Dwight L., ed.

Afro-American History: A Bibliography. Vol. 2. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1981.

United States. National Record and Record Service.

Black Studies. Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications. Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1984.

B. PRIMARY SOURCES

B.1 Archival Collections in the Washington, D.C., Area

District of Columbia Public Libraries:

Peabody Room, Georgetown Branch

Assessments of Real and Personal Property, Georgetown, 1800–19.

Mary Mitchell, Author's Notes for *Chronicles of Georgetown Life, 1865–1900*. Box 4, "Blacks."

Records of the City of Georgetown, 1800–79. Microfilm 605-7-12,

Washingtoniana Division, M.L.King Jr. Memorial Library

Vertical Files re. Slavery and Emancipation

George Washington University Library; Special Collections, Gelman Library

Constance McLaughlin Green Collection. [Notes and early drafts of *The Secret City*; bibliographies of urban and Negro Studies, various materials and student essays from GWU summer course, "Negro Life in American Cities since 1860"]

Historical Society of Washington D.C., Research Library

Alexander Taverns Papers, MS244 [Includes invitation to a fund-raiser to buy a woman out of slavery in 1846]

Exhibition Catalogue: "The Measure of a Man: James Wormley," 1993 [Wormley was a leader of the African American community]

Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. Manuscripts Division

Allen, William E. Papers, 1915–1981. [includes research on the Prince Hall Free Masons.]

Chapman, Charles Edward. Papers, 1791–1901. [letters of abolitionists and others, secured by Chapman, a Boston, Massachusetts postal clerk. Correspondents include Henry Bowditch, Lewis Hayden, Granville Sharp, Gerrit Smith, William Wilberforce and Francis Grimké.]

Cook Family. Papers, 1827–69. [Chiefly biographical materials relating to Reverend John Francis Cook (1810–1855) and his activities as a pioneer of education for Afro-Americans and founder of the Union Bethel Church in Washington, D.C. Includes genealogical materials, correspondence, personal documents, and photographs concerning Cook family members.]

Downing, George Thomas. Papers, 1840–1930. [Businessman and abolitionist active in Newport, R.I., New York, N.Y., and Washington, D.C. Personal papers, correspondence, and memorabilia relating to Downing and his family; together with texts of speeches, programs, and invitations documenting the activities of prominent abolitionists including Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, and Charles Sumner.]

Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C. Records, 1841–1890. [Established in 1841 by John F. Cook; formerly the First Colored Presbyterian Church. Constitution, minutes, registers of pastors, elders, trustees, officers, church members, funerals, baptisms, and marriages, and a subscription book signed by Cook.]

Grimké, Francis James. Papers. 1837–1937. [Presbyterian minister, lecturer, trustee of Howard University. Consists of sermons and addresses, correspondence, tributes—including one to John F. Cook, scrapbooks, notebooks, albums and diaries]

Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D.C. Records, 1825–1926. [Founded as Union Bethel A.M.E. Church; name changed 1881; includes official minutes (1838–1920s), indentures (1861–1892), certification of elected trustees, church publications, notes on church history, members, pastors, and organizations, and other records.]

Parker, Theodore, Letters, 1846–1856. [Theologian, clergyman, educator; 21 letters written to abolitionist and politician Samuel Gridley Howe on politics, religion, and abolitionist activities.

Simms Family. Papers 1802–1965. [Includes materials documenting the history of the Columbian Harmony, Society, the Union Bethel A.M.E. Church, and the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in Washington, D.C.]

Smith, Gerrit. Collection, 1843–71. [Printed circulars written by Smith, a noted philanthropist, social reformer, and abolitionist, concerning women's suffrage, prison reform, temperance, the abolitionist movement in the United States, and the American Colonization Society.

Tappan, Lewis. Scrapbooks, 1847–1860. [Wealthy New York City merchant and abolitionist. Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and other printed matter relating to slavery and the antislavery movement, with notes by Tappan. Includes 2 ms. catalogs of books and pamphlet pertaining to the antislavery movement (one dated 1851) and scrapbook of pious resolutions. Includes materials concerning the Free Soil Conventions of 1848 and 1852, and the National Liberty Convention of 1847.]

Library of Congress. Manuscript Division

Birney, James Gillespie (1792–1857). Microfilmed papers (1 reel). [Diaries, 1830–50, correspondence, 1834–44, newspaper clippings.]

Black History Collection

Drayton, Daniel, Chester English, and Edward Sayres [Five folders re. charges of assisting slaves.]

Slave Deeds, District of Columbia, 1796–1853. N.d.

Black Abolitionist Papers. (Microfilmed.) [Published Finding aid: see Carter, George E. and C. Peter Ripley, eds., in Section. Includes correspondence by Leonard Grimes, 1848–65; Thomas Smallwood (1851. 1854, 1855, 1859)

Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart. Papers. 6 vols. [Handwritten notes of newspaper articles concerning the District of Columbia, dated 1797–1888 and filed chronologically, not by subject.]

Chase, Salmon P. (1808–73). Diaries, Correspondence, Letterbooks. [antislavery advocate and Liberty Party adherent; resident in Washington, D.C. 1826–29; U.S. Senator from Ohio, 1849–55.]

Fleetwood, Christian A. (1840–1914). Papers, 1797–1945 (microfilmed). [Collection concentrates on period post-Civil War and Fleetwood's activities as a soldier and a leading African American citizen of Washington, D.C. Includes letters of manumission, 1797–1806, material relating to "slavery and other civic and social problems of the black community" in the District of Columbia, and a scrapbook of newspaper clippings relating to black history.]

Giddings, Joshua Reed (1794–1864). Correspondence. [Includes letters written by the antislavery Congressman to his family while he was in the House of Representatives, 1848–59, and correspondence with his son-in-law and biographer George Washington Julian. Topics include abolitionism.]

Green, Constance McLaughlin. Papers. [Collection relates to the documentation and writing of her important histories of Washington, D.C., including her research notes (arranged by chronological blocks), correspondence, and subject files.]

Mann, Horace (1796–1859). Papers. [Mann was elected to the US House of Representatives as an antislavery Whig in 1848; he defended Drayton and Sayres of The Pearl Affair. 40 microfilmed reels, including correspondence and journals, from collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society..)

Miner, Myrtilla, 1815–64. Papers. [Collection relates to the Miner School for Free Colored Girls in Washington, D.C...."] Includes building plans, newspaper clippings, correspondence, essays and drawings by students, documents relating to slavery and to "Washington Association for the Education of Colored Youth (23 May 1856).

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Presbyteries. Washington City. Records of the Presbytery of the District of Columbia, 1833–66 and of the Presbytery of the Potomac, 1858–70.

Shiner, Michael. 1813–1865. Microfilm 20,957. [Diary of a slave hired out as a worker at the Navy Yard.. It includes an account of the kidnapping of his wife and children, and his successful journey to rescue her.]

Smith, Gerrit. Microfilmed papers. [See published finding aid, 1975, p. 3. Abolitionist and reformer resident in upstate New York. Collection includes correspondence re. William L. Chaplin and Gamaliel Bailey (1838–59), a ‘List of antislavery men, ca. 1842.]

Stephenson, Nathaniel Wright. Papers. 1922–30. [Historian’s notes re. educational motion picture series on subjects of abolition, the Underground Railroad, etc.]

Tappan, Lewis (1788–1873). Papers. Correspondence, letterbooks, journals, notebooks, clippings of Lewis Tappan, a New York merchant, abolitionist, and brother of Benjamin and Arthur Tappan. He participated, after passage of Fugitive Slave Law, in many “underground railroad activities”.]

Wright, Elizur. Papers, 1817–1910. [Collection includes correspondence and scrapbooks relating to abolitionism, fugitive slave laws, and the American antislavery Society. Charles A. Torrey is included as correspondent.]

Lloyd House Archives, Alexandria Public Library

Vertical Files re. Afro Americans, Alexandria City, Alexandria Gazette, Historic Houses, Quakers, Slavery.

National Archives

RG 21 Records of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia.

RG 21, Entry 1, Docket Books, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, June 1801–Jan. Term 1863. 134 vols.

RG 21, Entry 2, Minute Books, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, June Term 1801–Jan. Term 1863. 31 vols. [M1021, Minutes of the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 6 rolls.]

RG 21, Entry 3, Copies of Minute Books, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, Oct. 1848–June 1858. 2 vols.

RG 21, Entry 4, Judgment Record, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1809–10, 1813, 1849–50, 1856–60. 6 vols. [seemingly not useful!]

RG 21, Entry 5, United States Cases on Civil Docket, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1839. 1 vol.

RG 21, Entry 6, Case Papers Concerning Appearances, Trials, Impanelments, Judicials, etc., United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1802–63, ca. 394 vols.

RG 21, Entry 7, Records of the District Court for D.C.. Law, Appellate, and Criminal Records; Case Papers, References. United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1802–20, 2 vols.

RG 21, Entry 8, Criminal Appearances, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1809–38. 2 vols.

RG 21, Entry 9, Civil Appearances, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1818–63. 15 vols.

RG 21, Entry 28, Habeas Corpus Papers, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1820–63. 2 vols. [M434, Habeas Corpus Case Records of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, 2 rolls]

RG 21, Entry 29, Index to Slavery Record, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1821–28. 1 vol.

RG 21, Entry 30, Manumission and Emancipation Record, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1821–62. 6 vols. [M433, Records of the U.S. District Court of Columbia Relating to Slaves, 3 rolls]

RG 21, Entry 31, Fugitive Slave Cases, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1851–63. 1 vol. [M433, Records of the U.S. District Court of Columbia Relating to Slaves, 3 rolls]

RG 21, Entry 32, Manumission Papers, United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, 1857–63. 1 vol. [M433, Records of the U.S. District Court of Columbia Relating to Slaves, 3 rolls]

RG 21, Entry 36, General Records and Court Minutes, United States District Court for the District of Potomac and the District of Columbia, 1801–63. 1 vol.

RG 21, Entry 41, List of Convictions, US Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1831–53. 1 volume.

RG 21, Entry 42, Criminal Docket, US Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1838–1862. 80 volumes.

RG 21, Entry 43, Minutes, United States Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1838–63. 24 vols.

RG 21, Entry 44, Record of Proceedings, United States Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1844–59. 7 vols.

RG 21, Entry 45, Case Papers, Appearances, Trials, Judicials, etc., US Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1838–63. 50 vols.

RG 21, Entry 46, Appearances, US Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1838–61. 4 vols.

RG 21, Entry 47, Recognizances, US Criminal Court for the District of Columbia, 1839–61. 1 vol.

RG 29 Record of the Bureau of Census of the United States

RG 29, M33, Fourth Census, 1820, District of Columbia, Roll 5.

RG 29, M19, Fifth Census, 1830, District of Columbia, Roll 14.

RG 29, M704, Sixth Census, 1840, Washington City, Washington County, Georgetown, and Alexandria County, Roll 35.

RG 29, M56, Seventh Census, 1850, Washington City, Roll 56, Georgetown, Washington County, and Slave Schedules, Roll 57.

RG 29, M653, Eighth Census, 1860, Free Schedules, Georgetown and City of Washington, Rolls 101–4; Slave Schedules, Georgetown and City of Washington, Roll 105.

RG 351 Records of the City of Washington and the District of Columbia

RG 351, Entry 46, General Assessment Books, Corporation of Washington, 1819–59. Vols. 2–9. [Arranged by square and lot #, , every 5 years]

RG 351, Entry 47, Tax Books, Corporation of Washington, 1824–60. Vols. 1–96. [1824–36, arranged by wards; 1837–79, by surname of property owner.]

RG 351, Entry 184, Assessment Books, City of Georgetown, 1800–; 1835–79. 21 vols. M605

RG 351, Entry 194, General Assessment Books, County of Washington, 1855–64. 1 vol. [Arrangement alphabetically by name]

B.2

Contemporary Accounts Relating to Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C.

The Case of William L. Chaplin: Being an Appeal to All Respecters of Law and Justice, Against the Cruel and Oppressive Treatment to which, Under Color of Legal Proceedings, He has been Subjected, in the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland. Boston: Chaplin Committee, 1851. [Antislavery booklet published while Chaplin, a key underground railroad activist was imprisoned in Maryland, charged with helping two slaves to escape from Washington, D.C.,]

Drayton, Daniel A.

Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton: For Four Years and Four Months a Prisoner for Charity's Sake in a Washington Jail. Including a Narrative of the Voyage and Capture of the Schooner Pearl. Boston: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1855. [Memoir written after Drayton was released from prison in Washington where he served four years for his role in the attempted escape on 77 slaves on the schooner *Pearl* in 1848.]

Hoar, Samuel.

Remarks by Samuel Hoar, of Massachusetts, on the Resolutions introduced by Mr. Jarvis, of Maine and Mr. Wise, of Virginia, Delivered in the House of Representatives, Thursday, January 21, 1836. Washington, National Intelligence Office. 1836. [Refers to argument that abolition of slavery in D.C. is the first step toward national abolition.]

Howe, S. G. (Samuel Gridley)

Narrative of the Heroic Adventures of Drayton, an American Trader, in The Pearl, Coasting Vessel, which was Captured by American Citizens, near the Mouth of the Potomac, Having on Board Seventy-seven Men, Women, and Children, Endeavoring to Escape from Slavery in the Capital of the American Republic. London: Ward and Co., 1848. [Anti-slavery recounting of the attempted escape of 77 slaves on the schooner *Pearl*.]

Lovejoy, Joseph C.,

Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey, Who Died in the Penitentiary of Maryland, Where He was Confined for Showing Mercy to the Poor. Reprint of 1847 edition. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969. [Commemoration of the anti-slavery activism and martyrdom of Charles Torrey, a key underground railroad activist in Washington.]

Lundy, Benjamin

The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy... Compiled under the Direction and on Behalf of His Children. Philadelphia: William D. Parrish, 1847. [Lundy organized a petition against slavery in Washington and published an anti-slavery newspaper here for a brief period.]

Massachusetts. General Court. Joint Special Committee on Petition of Asa Stroughton ...

Report on the Powers and Duties of Congress Upon the Subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. [Boston 1838.] [Concerns the concerted and long-standing attempt to abolish slavery in the District]

Memorial of Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, Praying for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1828 [The petition, organized by Lundy, was signed by over 1,000 residents of the District]

Miner, Charles.

Speech of Mr. Miner, of Pennsylvania, Delivered in the House of Representatives, on Tuesday and Wednesday, January 6 and 7, 1829, on the Subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. Washington, Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1829. [Calls for gradual abolition and amendment of laws governing slavery and the slave trade in the District and recounts conditions and practices here.]

Northup, Simon

Twenty Years a Slave; Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841.... Sue Edwin and Joseph Logsdon, eds. Reprint of 1853 ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. [Famous anti-slavery narrative revealing of the activities of evil slave traders in Washington who preyed upon free African Americans.]

Patton, William Weston

Freedom's Martyr: A Discourse on the Death of the Rev. Charles T. Torrey. Hartford, Ct.: William H. Burleigh, 1846. [Outraged anti-slavery memorial to Torrey, underground railroad activist]

Payne, Daniel Alexander

Welcome to the Ransomed, or, Duties of the Colored Inhabitants of the District of Columbia. Baltimore: Printed by Bull & Tuttle, 1862. [Civics lesson for the newly freed written by a Bishop of the AME Church]

Seward, William Henry

Speech of William H. Seward, on Emancipation in the District of Columbia. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, September 11, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1850. [Calls for abolition in D.C.]

Slade, William

Speech of Mr. Slade, of Vermont, on the Subject of Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade Within the District of Columbia. Delivered in the House of Representatives, December 23, 1835. Washington, D.C.: National Intelligencer Office, 1836. [Calls for abolition in D. C.]

Smallwood, Thomas

A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood (Coloured Man:)...Together with an Account of the Underground Railroad, Written by Himself. Toronto: Printed for the Author by James Stephens, 1851. [Memoir of free African American who was in league with Charles Torrey in organizing escapes from slavery in the District.]

Stowe, Harriet Beecher

A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded... Reprint of 1853 ed. N.Y.: Arno Press, 1968. [Contains account of the Edmonson family and Emily Russell, fugitives on the *Pearl*, and the story of Solomon Northrop.]

Sumner, Charles

Ransom of Slaves at the National Capital. Speech of Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, on the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Senate of the United States, March 31, 1862. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Office, 1862.

Torrey, Jesse

A Portrait of Domestic Slavery in the United States. Philadelphia: the author, 1817. [Describes conditions of slavery and the slavery in and around Washington, including free blacks held in jail prior to being sold into slavery. Contains “fanciful” engraving of F. St. tavern (site of attempted slave suicide) and another of a procession of manacled slaves passing across the plaza of the Capitol.]

The Trial of Reuben Crandall, M.D., Charged with Publishing and Circulating Seditious and Incendiary Papers, Etc. in the District of Columbia, with the Intent of Exciting Servile Insurrection. Carefully Reported, and Compiled from the Written Statements of the Court and the Counsel by a Member of the Bar. Washington City, Printed for the Proprietors, 1836. [Account of trial of Crandall, Georgetown resident and brother of Prudence, a more radical abolitionist. He was accused of possessing and circulating abolitionist pamphlets, but found not guilty.]

Underwood, Almon

A Discourse on the Death of the Late Rev. C.T. Torrey, a Martyr to Human Rights. Delivered in Newark, N.J., June 7, 1846. Newark: Small & Ackerman, 1846. [Account of the anti-slavery activism and martyrdom of Charles Torrey, a key underground railroad activist in Washington.]

United States. Congress. House.

Slavery, District of Columbia. 20th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1828. H. Rep. 60, Serial 234.

Slavery, District of Columbia. 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 1836. H. Rep. 691, Serial 1427.

[Contains a D. C. Grand Jury communication calling for the cessation of the slave trade in D. C. and the D. C. Marshall’s report concerning the practice of jailing slaves; references the gag law that effectively tabled all bills relating to ending slavery in the District.]

United States. Treasury Department.

Emancipation in the District of Columbia. [Washington, 1864]. [Relates to compensated emancipation in the District.]

Worth, Edmund

A Martyr to the Truth: A Sermon in Commemoration of the Death of Rev. Charles T. Torrey, in the Maryland Penitentiary, May 9, 1846: Delivered at Fisherville: and also in the Baptist Meeting House in Concord, May 31, 1846. [Fisherville? NH: 1846?] [Memoir of the anti-slavery activism and martyrdom of Charles Torrey, a key underground railroad activist in Washington.]

B.3 Contemporary District of Columbia Directories and Guides

Bohn's Hand-book of Washington. Illustrated with Twenty Engravings of Public Buildings, etc. Washington, C. Bohn, 1852; 4th ed., 1856

Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory. Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Maury, 1858, 1860.

Cohen, E.A. & Co.

A Full Directory for Washington City, Georgetown, and Alexandria. Washington, D.C.: Printed by William Greer, 1834. [No listings for people of color in Georgetown or Alexandria; a few in the District. Alphabetical arrangement limited to first letter only.]

Delano, Judah

The Washington Directory... Washington, D.C.: Printed by William Duncan, 1822.

Elliot, Jonathan

Historical Sketches of the Ten Miles Square Forming the District of Columbia... Washington: J. Elliot, Jr., 1830.

Elliot, S.A.

The Washington Directory, Showing the Name, Occupation and Residence of each Head of a Family & Person in Business.... Washington, D.C.: S.A. Elliot, 1827. (Includes parenthetical data: "col man" and "col woman")

Elliot, William

The Washington Guide : Containing an Account of the District of Columbia...Abstract of the General Laws of the Corporation...List of the Officers of the Corporation... Washington, S.A. Elliot, 1822, 1837. [Laws regulating free blacks, slaves and mulattoes included in abstract of laws.]

Force, William Quereau

Picture of Washington and its Vicinity for 1845... Washington: W.Q. Force, 1845.

Homans, Benjamin

The Georgetown Directory for the Year 1830... Georgetown, D.C.: Printed by Benjamin Homans, 1830. [No (col.) designations.]

Hunter, Alfred

The Washington and Georgetown Directory. Washington, D.C.: Printed by Kirkwood & McGill, 1853.

Gaither and Addison

The Washington Directory and National Register for 1846. Washington, D.C.: Printed by John T. Towers, 1846.

Morrison's Strangers' Guide to the City of Washington and its Vicinity... 2d ed. Washington: W.M. Morrison, 1844.

Philp's Washington Described, a Complete View of the American Capital and the District of Columbia. William D. Haley, ed. Washington: Philp and Solomons [1860?]

Reintzel, Anthony, comp.

The Washington Directory...for 1843. Washington, D.C.: Washington, Printed by J.T. Towers, 1843.

Ten Eyck, I.

Ten Eyck's Washington and Georgetown Directory. Washington, D.C. Printed by Henry Polkinhorn, 1855.

Waite, Edward

The Washington Directory... for 1850. Washington, D.C. Printed by Columbus Alexander, 1850.

Watterston, George

New Guide to Washington... Washington: Robert Farnham, 1842, 1847–8.

B.4 Contemporary Maps of the District of Columbia

Bohn, Casimir

Map of the City of Washington. Washington, D.C.: C. Bohn, 1858.

Boschke, A.

Map of Washington City, District of Columbia. Washington, 1857.

Bussard, William

A Map of Georgetown in the District of Columbia. 1830. Engraved by W. Harrison. Washington, 1830.

Cadastral Map of Part of Central Washington and Georgetown. 183—. [Shows some owner's names]

Carey, H.C. & Isaac Lea

Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of the District of Columbia. Philadelphia: Young & Delleker [1822, 1827.]

City of Washington. Published by S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia, 1848.

Colton, J.H. Co.

Colton's Georgetown and the City of Washington. New York: Johnson & Browning, 1855 [1857, 1859]

De Krafft, F.C., Surveyor

Map of the City of Washington. Engraved by Mrs. W.I. Stone. [Washington] 1828, 1833, 1846.

Desilver, Charles

City of Washington. [Philadelphia: Charles Deliver, 1859.]

Elliot, William

Plan of the City of Washington. [Washington, D.C.: S.A. Elliot, 1822, 1829, 1837.]

Ewing, Maskell C.

Plan of the Town of Alexandria, D.C.... 1845.

Keily, James

Map of the City of Washington, D.C. Camden, N.J.: Lloyd Van Derveer, 1850.

King, W., Surveyor

A Map of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia Established as the Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States of America [1818]

Map of Northeastern Washington D.C. Showing 18th- and 19th-century Land Ownership. [183–]

M'Clelland, D., Engraver and Publisher

Map of the City of Washington. Washington, D.C.: 1846, 1850, 1855.

Morrison, William M.

Map of the City of Washington. 1840.

Noland, William

Plan of the City of Washington, Showing Lots Belonging to the United States and to Individuals. [1834].

Stone, W.I., Engraver

A Correct Map of the City of Washington. [Washington, D.C.: Davis & Force, 1820, 1839.]

Tanner, Henry Schenck

City of Washington. [Washington, 1836, 1846].

Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co.

City of Washington. Philadelphia, 1846, 1850.

U. S. Congress. House

Map of the District of Columbia and City of Washington, and Plats of the Squares and Lots of the City of Washington. Washington: A. Hamilton Boyd, 1852.

Wagner, T.S.

District of Columbia. [Philadelphia: 1837].

B.5 Contemporary Newspapers of the District of Columbia

Alexandria Advocate, 1840–60 [triweekly]

Alexandria Gazette, 1830–60.

Evening Star, December 1852 ff [continued as *Washington Star*]

Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1831–3 (Monthly) Third Series, Vol. 1, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., January– December 1831; Third Series, Vols. 2–3, Washington, D.C., January 1832–October 1833.

Georgetown Advocate, 1850–56.

Globe, December 1830–April 1845. [also Daily Globe; taken over by *Washington Union*, May 1845 – April 1859.]

Madisonian, August 1837–June 1845. [Changed name to *The United States Journal*, then to *The Daily Times*.]

National Era, January 1847–March 1860.

National Intelligencer, October 1800–December 1869 [also *Daily National Intelligencer*]

National Journal, August 1824–December 1831.

Niles National Register, September 1825–August 1840.

United States Telegraph, February 1826–January 1833 [previously the *City of Washington Gazette*, 1817–21; *Washington Gazette*, 1821–26).

B.6

Laws and Court Decisions Relating to Slavery and Free Blacks in the District of Columbia

Burch, Samuel, ed.

A Digest of the Laws of the Corporation of the City of Washington, to the First of June, 1823... City of Washington: Printed by James Wilson, 1823.

Cogley, Thomas Sydenham

Digest of Decisions of The Courts of Last Resort in the District of Columbia. From I Cranch to XIX D.C., Inclusive... Washington, D.C.: Printed by the Law Reporter Co., 1892.

Cranch, William

Code of Laws for the District of Columbia .Washington: Printed by Davis & Force, 1819.

Reports of Cases Civil and Criminal in the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, from 1801 to 1841. 6 vols. New York, J.S. Voorhies, 1852–53. [Very useful chronological and analytical compendium of court cases in the District by the Chief Judge of the Circuit Court: some relate to runaways, assisting escapes from slavery, and abolitionism. Vol. 1: 1801–1810; Vol. 2, 1810–26; Vol. 3, 1826–30; Vol. 4, 1830–36; Vol. 5, 1836–41; Vol. 6, General Index.]

Cranch, William, ed.

Laws of the Corporation of Alexandria, as Revised and Passed on the Twentieth of January, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty One. Alexandria, D.C., Printed by Rounsavell and Pittman, 1821.

Hall, David A.

A Digested Index of the Laws of the City of Washington: to the Twenty-sixth Council, Inclusive. Washington: Way & Gideon, Printers, 1829. [Hall was a local abolitionist lawyer]

Hayward, John A., and George C. Hazelton

Reports of Cases, Civil and Criminal, Argued and Adjudged in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for the County of Washington [1840–1863]. A Continuation of Cranch's Circuit Court Reports of the District of Columbia. Washington, W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., 1892–95. 2 vols. [continues chronologically from Cranch's Vol. 5 and retains his chronological format: Vol. 1, 1840 to 1850, Vol. 2, 1849–1863;]

Herty, Thomas, comp.

Appendix, to the Digest of the Laws of Maryland... Baltimore: Warner and Hanna, 1799.

Digest of the Laws of Maryland..., from First Settlement to November 1797. Baltimore: n.p., 1799.

Hurd, John Codman

The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States. Vol. 2. Reprint ,1862 ed. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968. [pp. 24–28, re. District of Columbia.]

Laws of the Corporation of the City of Washington. Washington, D.C.: 1854–71.

Ordinances of the Corporation of Georgetown. Washington, D.C.: Ezekeil Hughes and McGill Press, 1851–67.

Rothwell, Andrew, comp.

Laws of the Corporation of the City of Washington to the End of the Thirtieth Council. Washington, D.C.: F.W. DeKrafft, 1833.

Sheahan, James, comp.

Corporation Laws of the City of Washington, to the end of the Fiftieth Council. Washington: Printed by R.A. Waters, 1853.

General Laws of the Corporation of the City of Washington, Passed Since the First of June 1853. Washington: Robert A. Waters, 1860.

The Slavery Code of the District of Columbia, Together with Notes and Judicial Decisions Explanatory of the Same. By a member of the Washington Bar. Washington: L. Towers & Co., Printers, 1862.

Snethen, Worthington Garrettson, comp.

The Black Code of the District of Columbia, in Force September 1st, 1848. New York: Published for the A. & F. Anti-Slavery Society, by W. Harned, 1848. [Extracts from laws of the US (1790–1831) and Maryland (1715–98); Ordinances of the Corporations of Washington (1809–48) and Georgetown (1795–1845).]

C. SECONDARY SOURCES: LOCAL STUDIES

C.1 Histories of the Anti-Slavery Crusade and the Underground Railroad in the District of Columbia

Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart

“A Fire in an Old-Time F Street Tavern and What It Revealed.” *CHS Records*, 9 (1906), 198–215. [Concerns suicide of enslaved woman and anti-slavery sentiments in the District]

Connaughton, George Howard

“The Anti-Slavery Movement in the District of Columbia.” MA, Ohio State University, 1934.

Clephane, Walter C.

“Lewis Clephane: A Pioneer Washington Republican.” *CHS Records*, 21 (1918), 263–77. [Clephane was business manager of the *National Era*, 1847–59.]

“The Local Aspect of Slavery in the District of Columbia.” *CHS Records*, 3 (1900), 224–56.

Cohen, Anthony

The Underground Railroad in Montgomery County, Maryland: A History and Driving Guide. Rockville, Md.: Montgomery County Historical Society, 1994.

Conway, Moncure Daniel

Autobiography, Memories and Experiences... (New York: Cassell, 1904). [Conway was an anti-slavery minister, dismissed from Washington’s First Unitarian Church in 1856.]

Coyle, John F.

“Local Mob Violence: Riots in Washington Before the Civil War.” *Washington Post*, 21 October 1900, p. 28. [An account of the riots in the aftermath of the *Pearl* Affair.]

Dillon, Merton L.

Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966. [Lundy organized the 1828 petition against slavery in the District and briefly published the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* here.]

Edwards, G. Franklin, and Michael R. Winston

“Commentary: the Washington of Paul Jennings – White House Slave, Free Man and Conspirator for Freedom.” *White House History*, 1 (1983), 52–63. [Contains scholarly research on the Pearl Affair, which Jennings helped to plan, and on the African American community.]

Foer, Franklin Louis

The Political Struggle for Emancipation in the District of Columbia. c.1992. [Unpublished paper in MLK Library by a high school student.]

Frothingham, Octavius Brooks

Gerrit Smith; a Biography. Reprint of the 1878 ed. New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969. [New York abolitionist who financially supported the operation of the underground railroad in Washington]

Hanchett, Catherine M.

“What Sort of People & Families...” The Edmonson Sisters.” *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1982), 21–37. [Includes scholarly history of the Pearl Affair.]

Harlow, Ralph Volney

Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer. New York, Russell & Russell 1972, c1939. [New York abolitionist who financially supported the operation of the underground railroad in Washington]

Harrold, Stanley

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Part II: Court Records, the Underground Railroad, and Abolitionism in the District of Columbia

- (A) Documents Relating to Escapes from Slavery, Abetting of Escapes,
and “Slave Stealing”**
- (B) Documents Relating to Abolitionism, Black Codes and Legal Rights**
- (C) A Summary of Laws and Regulations Affecting Runaways and Free
African Americans in the District of Columbia**

Introduction

The records of the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia in the National Archives (RG 21) have not yet been mined for their data on the history of the underground railroad and the anti-slavery movement. Close scrutiny of these documents should expand understanding of the topic, and illuminate fascinating details of persons charged with forging passes, distributing abolitionist literature, harboring runaways, encouraging and assisting escapes from slavery, and challenging racial oppression and proscription.

These Circuit Court records do more than chronicle arrest and failure: they offer details on routes taken to escape from slavery in the District of Columbia, on runaways who successfully escaped to freedom (for example, in lawsuits against transportation companies who unwittingly conveyed them), and they identify persons acquitted of abetting an escape from slavery or who may have successfully assisted such escapes in the past.

Not all those accused of providing passes and “slave stealing” had abolitionist motives: some cases seemingly document the venal selling of free passes, while others involve the self-serving and criminal kidnapping of enslaved people. Some of the case files contain forged freedom papers, abolitionist tracts, and runaway notices—valuable materials for curatorial and other purposes. Taken as a whole, the files also convey the context in which antislavery and underground railroad activists operated in the District of Columbia: the omnipresent and powerful networks of oppression that they faced, the huge risks they took, the fearsome penalties they sometimes suffered.

While Record Group 21 proffers many details of well-known incidents (such as the “Pearl Affair”) it also provides departure points for new research on previously unknown runaways and their abettors. The record promises to be a valuable contribution to a vivid tapestry that makes up the history underground railroad and the anti-slavery struggle in the District of Columbia.

Notwithstanding, it is not surprising that antebellum Circuit Court records in the National Archives have been virtually untapped for this purpose, since it is difficult to extract underground railroad and abolitionist cases from the large mass of court documents subsumed with the Record Group 21. Virtually none of the hundreds of volumes in this record group possess indexes that would readily identify cases and files involving runaways from slavery and abolitionism

Part I outlines this Record Group, comprising the papers of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia (1801–63), together with the records of the US Criminal Court of the District of Columbia which was established under the Circuit Court’s purview in 1838. The Record Group includes docket books, minute books, judgment records, lists of convictions, case papers, habeas corpus papers, and manumission papers, as well as one volume categorized as “Fugitive Slave Cases, 1851–63” (Entry 31). The latter is not as promising as it sounds for the purposes of the general topic; it comprises less than six inches of papers relating to the operation of the 1850 Congressional *Fugitive Slave Act*—a modest number of petitions and affidavits by slaveholders who were hoping that the provisions of this Act would enable them to retrieve their bondsmen.

A New Index

Unprecedented access to some pertinent case papers in Entry 6 of the Record Group¹ has been provided by a recent indexing project at the National Archives titled “Legal Affairs of Black Washingtonians.” The project is ongoing, and presently covers the period from 1801 to the 1840s. Within this index are about 35 cases involving runaways from slavery and eight involving the distribution of abolitionist literature. Other cases within this index relating to “antebellum black residents” are *habeas corpus* cases of free people held as runaways, suits for freedom, indictments for theft or assault, and suits involving slave property.

Though this chronologically organized index is meticulous, it may not have captured every relevant case. As the indexer explained, he “...merely noted the presence of certain kinds of information in the Case Papers of the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia [Entry 6] while he was unfolding, flattening and reboxing the material.” Nevertheless, the indexer has provided a great service in identifying some previously unknown cases relating to escapes from slavery and abolitionism; the applicable case numbers provided are the key to easy archival retrieval.

Published References and Missing Files

Published indexing of the record—but not the important case numbers referred to above—was provided by seminal 19th-century compilations by William Cranch, the Chief Justice of the Circuit Court for the District of Columbia, and his successors, John A. Hayward and George C. Hazleton. The chronological listings in Cranch’s six-volume *Reports of Cases Civil and Criminal in the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, from 1801 to 1841* and Hayward and Hazleton’s two-volume continuation (to 1863) usually include summary information about the suits and trials heard by Court, their outcomes, and the rulings or legal opinions that they may have generated.

These 19th-century volumes are also admirably subject indexed: researchers can look up cases under such headings as Slavery, Freedom, Runaways, and Free Negroes. These subject indexes were extensively used for District of Columbia listings in Volume 4 of Helen Tunnicliff Catterall’s *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*. From these sources, Dorothy Provine summarized that 180 circuit court cases in the District “directly involved” African Americans.²

The 19th-century published compilations, intended for use by judges and advocates, significantly focused on precedent-setting rulings and opinions. As a result, Cranch and his successors did not list all the cases that came before the Circuit Court in the District. Some of these omissions appear in the archival index “Legal Affairs of Black Washingtonians.”

Further, it is not always easy to locate the documents relating to the trials and suits cited in these published volumes since they do not include the case numbers that are required for archival retrieval. Searching for these numbers can entail the retrieval of volumes of docket books that are organized by court term date and indexed by proper name.

Locating this case number does not guarantee that its files will be located in the National Archives: many

numbering gaps are evident within the chronologically filed case papers in archival boxes. Case files and minutes that pertain to the court's sittings in Alexandria before retrocession are apparently lodged in Virginia.³ Other files that belong in Record Group 21 may have been lost prior to the transfer of the records to the National Archives.

The Circuit Court System: A Brief Summary

Before the 1846 retrocession, the judges of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia needed to hold alternate sessions in Washington and Alexandria Counties, and to be fully cognizant of the laws of two states, since Congress had decreed in 1801:

That the laws of the State of Virginia as they now exist, shall be and continue in force in that part of the District of Columbia, which was ceded by the State to the United States, and by them accepted for the permanent seat of government; and that the laws of the State of Maryland, as they now exist, shall be and continue in force in that part of the District which was ceded by that State to the United States and by them accepted as aforesaid.

The legal process itself was also "... very tedious. Three terms were required—the appearance, imparlance, and trial term—before even an uncontested case could be adjudicated."⁴ In the District of Columbia, the Circuit Court assumed powers that were exercised in other localities by state and municipal courts. The Court had jurisdiction in all criminal and civil cases in the District. In 1838, a one-judge criminal court was established within the system whose cases went to the full Circuit Court on appeal. The district attorneys, marshals, and clerks of the Circuit Court were also required to perform their functions for the new Criminal Court.

The District's Circuit Court dealt with challenges to the enactments of other authorities within the 10-mile square: the Town of Alexandria, the City of Washington, and the Town of Georgetown, the Levy Court of the County of Washington and the County Court of the County of Alexandria.

The Circuit Court of the District did not usually deal directly with enslaved persons who were charged with running away⁵ or otherwise breaking the law: they were supposed to be brought before justices of the peace before being lodged in jail. These local officials could also order whippings and a term of confinement. Slaveowners, who were liable for jail fees charged, might inflict other punishments.⁶ Unless they came to the jail to redeem captured runaways, the latter would be sold to recover jail fees.

In general, runaway slave cases came before the District's Circuit Court when their abettors were charged, and when transportation companies that runaways had used were sued for negligence. Such abettors could be fined up to \$300 for giving or selling certificate of freedom. If free African Americans in the District were found guilty of such charges and could not pay the fine, they could be sold "for a period of up to 7 years." Those convicted of offering transportation, advice, or advice that resulted in an escape could be fined up to \$200; they were also liable to an action for damages by owner. Under Maryland law, they might have to pay

the full value of the escaped slave to his or her owner, and might suffer one year's imprisonment if unable to pay.

Free African Americans illegally "taken up as runaways" in the District also appeared before the Court, as did a few former runaways who were petitioning for their freedom. The latter did so under complicated legislation that restricted the importation of slaves into the District and granted them their freedom if the terms were violated.⁷ More than 50 of these cases came before the Circuit Court, and are featured in the archival index "Legal Affairs of Black Washingtonians."

Circuit Court Personnel

The District of Columbia Circuit Court was established in 1800–01 with one Chief Judge, William Kilty, and two Assistant (later Associate) Judges, James Marshall and William Cranch. Marshall and Kilty resigned after relatively brief intervals, in 1803 and 1806, respectively.

Cranch, who succeeded Kilty as Chief Judge in 1806, served the Court 54 years, until his death in 1855 at the age of 86. He was Massachusetts-born, a nephew of Abigail Adams, and might be considered by some to have been a moderate abolitionist: he signed a petition in 1828 which called for the abolition of the slave trade in the District, and some of his rulings seemed sympathetic the idea that African Americans—even those in slavery—had some rights under the laws of the District.

Cranch's successor as Chief Judge in 1855 was James Dunlop, a scion of Georgetown landowner Robert Peter, who had been Judge of the District's Criminal Court and Associate Judge of the Circuit Court.

Other assistant or associate judges appointed and their dates of service were: Nicholas Fitzhugh (1803–14); Allen Bowie Duckett (1806–09); Buckner Thruston (1809–45), James S. Morsell (1815–63), James Dunlop (1845–55) and William M. Merrick (1855–63).

Thomson F. Mason was appointed judge of the newly established Criminal Court in 1838, but died six months later. His replacement, James Dunlop, resigned in 1845 to become an associate judge of the Circuit Court (where the salary was \$500 per year higher). Dunlop's successor was Thomas H. Crawford, who served the District's Criminal Court until 1863.

District Attorneys of the District Circuit Court included John Thompson Mason (1801), Walter Jones, Jr. (1801–21), Thomas Swann (1821–33), Francis Scott Key (1833–41), Philip R. Fendall (1841–45 and 1850–53), Philip Barton Key (1846–1850 and 1853–59), Robert Ould (1859–61), and Edward C. Carrington (1861–63).

Clerks of the Court included Uriah Forrest (1801–05), William Brent (1805–48), and John A. Smith (1848–63), while antebellum Marshals included David Lenox (1800–01), Daniel Carroll Brent (1801–08), George Dent (1801–2), William Baker (1802–03), Washington Boyd (1808–18), Tench Ringgold, (1818–31), Henry Ashton, (1831–34), Alexander Hunter, (1834–48), Robert Wallace (1848–50), Richard Wallach, (1850–53), Jonah D. Hoover (1853–58), and William Selden (1858–61).⁸

The personnel and the name of old Circuit and Criminal Court were swept away in 1863 in a tide of reform that established the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. As one authority put it, "The prevailing

opinion in Congress was that the Judges of the Circuit Court were disaffected towards the union and sympathized with the Confederacy. The truth is that politics played a considerable part.”⁹

Circuit Court Sites

The first session of the Circuit Court is said to have been held in April 1801 “in the Hustings Court Building...on the north side of Market Square, Alexandria.”¹⁰ However, the same source states that the Court “...first convened on March 23, 1801, at the Capitol” (sharing a room with the United States Supreme Court), but also transcribes conflicting testimony which places the first session of the Court in “...a house on the corner of A and First Streets NE, afterwards known as the Old Capitol...”

Pre-1820 locations for the Circuit Court did not end there: it reportedly met in “Lindsay and Long’s hotels, in Carroll Row on First Street SE” in 1808 and 1809, and in “Mr. Carroll’s house” near the Capitol in 1814–15, after the burning of Washington. The Court returned thereafter to the Capitol building, sharing with the Supreme Court of the United States a room “little better than a dungeon.” It was squeezed out of this space for its 1820 session, which was postponed until Congress voted an appropriation to rent the Brick Capitol for the purpose.

The Circuit Court relocated from there in 1823 or 1824, to its first purpose-built location, the new City Hall building at 4th and Indiana NW (now the Superior Court of the District of Columbia), whose cornerstone had been laid in 1820.

The courtroom was located “...on the east side of the principal south entrance of the city hall.” The Circuit Court and Criminal Court were obliged to share this space between 1838 and 1849. When the west wings of the building was finally completed, the former common council chamber on the west side of the principal entrance was designated for sittings of the Criminal Court.

Ancillary Buildings

The location of the new City Hall and Circuit Court building was convenient to and almost directly in front of the City Jail. The latter had been built in 1802 between 4th and 5th and E and F NW. It was a two-story brick building, 100’ x 25’, one described in a 1826 congressional report as overcrowded, unsanitary, and fit only to be razed to the ground.¹¹

Some of its overcrowding was relieved in the late 1820s, when a new jail in Alexandria (at Princess and St. Asaph) replaced a “dwelling house” in use for the purpose, and when a new penitentiary at Greenleaf Point was available for long-term incarcerations.

A new city jail was built in 1839 at a cost of \$38,000 a little further east, on the corner of 4th and G. A paper read before the Historical Society in 1929 described this new jail structure (demolished in 1874) as:

...a three-story brick building surrounded by high brick walls. It was called the Blue Jug because at one time it was painted or washed a bluish color... The windows were not only iron barred but in order to prevent the prisoners in the upper stories from being seen, shutters built of heavy board slats were built out

in front of each window. It was always an eyesore and a nuisance. The only pleasing thing about it was the singing of prisoners, which could be heard on the side streets, especially on Sunday. It was remarkable how well the civil shut-ins could sing the familiar hymns of the church.”¹²

Those charged and convicted with abetting escapes from slavery would have been unhappily familiar with these buildings.

Runaways and suspected runaways from slavery were unlikely to be sent to the penitentiary. Those apprehended were likely to have been initially held in one up about 26 lock-ups authorized after 1813. These were described as “primitive structures of planks or logs; 10 or 12 feet square.” Each had a door and no windows, though limited quantities of light and air could penetrate between bars in “the upper part.”¹³ Runaways apprehended at night by the auxiliary guard in the 1840s and 50s might be held in the guard house in Center Market and taken before a magistrate in the morning.¹⁴ Reportedly, this guard house was also the site of some judicially ordered floggings: the jail’s whipping post was another such site.

Two other watch houses were reported to have existed in the 1850s: one for the First Ward on K, and one for the 5th and 6th Wards near corner of 5th and D SE. These were plain one-story brick buildings of two rooms—one for the officers of the Auxiliary Guard, the other for cells.¹⁵

In Georgetown, runaways may have been detained in privately owned basements: reportedly, “more than one of four corporation constables used the basement of his house as a prison, particularly if the prisoners were colored.”¹⁶

Such makeshift facilities were likely used only the night of an arrest: runaways and suspected runaways would have soon been transferred to the Washington jail, from where they might be sold, returned to their owners, or even released—if they managed to prove their freedom.

¹ Entry 6 of the Record Group is “Case Papers Concerning Appearances, Trials, Imparlanes, Judicials, etc.”

² Dorothy S. Provine, *District of Columbia. Free Negro Registers. 1821–1861* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996) 180.

³ A National Archives finding aid states “...the records of the court while sitting in Alexandria have been kept by Virginia...”.

⁴ Matthew F. McGuire, *An Anecdotal History of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia 1801–1976*. [Washington] The Court [1977?], 46.

⁵ See IIC for penalties prescribed under Virginia and Maryland laws for runaways and their abettors.

⁶ Some slaveholders challenged the idea that authorities could lock up their slaves and deprive them of their property rights and the labor they owned. See F. Regis Noel, “Notable Suits in Early District Courts,” *CHS Records*, 24 (March 1920), 87.

⁷ See Walter C. Clephane, “The Local Aspect of Slavery in the District of Columbia,” *Columbia Historical Society [hereafter CHS] Records*, 3 (1900), 224–5.

⁸ The above list might be of use to other researchers, especially if the archived papers of some of these court officials are located.

⁹ Matthew F. McGuire, op. cit., 46.

¹⁰ F. Regis Noel, and Margaret Brent Downing, *The Court-House of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1919), 10–11.

¹¹ Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, *A History of the National Capital...* Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1914–16), 92–3. This building became the Washington Infirmary in 1844, and was destroyed by fire in 1861.

¹² Rev. Page Milburn, “Fourth Ward,” *CHS Records*, 33–4 (1932), 61.

¹³ Richard Sylvester, comp. *District of Columbia Police: A Retrospect of the Police Organizations of the Cities of Washington and Georgetown and the District of Columbia, with Biographical Sketches, Illustrations, and Historic Cases* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Bros., Printers, 1894) 28–33.

¹⁴ John H. Goddard, Captain of the Auxiliary Guard in the 1840s and Chief of Police in the 1850s, recalled “an old guardhouse near the old Market on 8th St. ...used to lock up the Negroes.” Kenneth G. Alferts, *Law and Order in the Capital City: a History of the Washington Police, 1800–1886*. GW Washington Studies No. 5 (George Washington University, 1976), 12.

¹⁵ Sylvester, op. cit., 31–33. Two work houses are also reported: one on the north side of M Street, between 6th and 7th, and another in Georgetown.

¹⁶ Sylvester, op. cit., 31.

**(A) Circuit Court Documents relating to Escapes from Slavery,
Abetting of Escapes, and “Slave Stealing” in the District of Columbia**

Nov term 1804

McCall v Eve

1 Cranch 188

Plaintiff lost his slave; sued the master of the vessel that carried him away. Slave secreted himself in its fore-castle and was discovered five or six hours after sailing. Captain landed him in St. Mary’s Md., lodged him in jail, and wrote to the owner. Ruling: A master of a vessel is not liable to the penalty of the Act of Va. 17 Dec 1792, rev. code, p. 192, for carrying a slave out of the common-wealth unless he did it knowingly.

Nov 1805

E.J. Lee v Benjamin Lacy

1 Cranch 263

Owner of a slave brought suit against the master of a Georgetown packet boat for damages for carrying the slave from Alexandria to Georgetown, “whereby the plaintiff lost the service of the slave from the 29th of April to the 21st of May” and was put to great expense &c.; action was under Va statute 25 Jan 1798, sect 6 and 7 Verdict for the plaintiff, \$120. Court instructed jury that “if defendant saw the Negro during the passage, or knew of his being on board and suffered him to land and go at large in Georgetown” he was liable for damages.

March 1806

Ex Parte Anthony

1 Cranch 295

Habeas corpus case ... The prisoner was committed by a warrant under the hand of Mr. Justice Faw, Alexandria Co. The Court was “Required to receive into your custody negro Anthony, who was brought before me as a runaway, said to be a slave, the property of Mr. Richard West, of Prince George’s County, Md.” Prisoner discharged: a justice of the peace in Alexandria cannot commit a person as a runaway, unless according to the form of the Act of Virginia of December 26, 1792.

Dec. 1806

Harrison v. Evans

RG21, E 8, crim. apps 23

Mulatto slave woman named Nell was carried away in the stage-coach of the defendant, who “had ordered the driver to call at Mrs. Thompson’s and take a servant, who proved to be the slave in question.” She was thereby lost to the plaintiff. Evidence presented that Nell had been permitted to “go about and hire herself where she chose.” Verdict for the plaintiff, \$180: Jury instructed if the slave had a written authority from the plaintiff, without limitation of time or place, to seek for a new master the plaintiff could not recover, although such authority was not shown to the defendant or his agents.

June term 1809

US vs. John Watkins

1 Cranch 364

“Defendant did willingly entertain and permit to be about his house a certain negro woman slave, Lydia, unlawfully absenting herself from her master and owner...”

Dec 1812

Lewis et al v. Spalding

2 Cranch 68

Defendant charged with maliciously conspiring to kidnap plaintiff's slave by false pretences, procuring a warrant to have the slave apprehended and delivered to the defendant, and hiring persons to seize and carry away the slave. 'Plaintiff was put to great expense and trouble, in watching and protecting said slave, and was deprived of his labor and hire.' Court ruling: "In an action upon the case for maliciously conspiring to deprive the plaintiffs of their slave, it is necessary for them to prove malice in the defendant. And it is competent for the defendant to show probable cause, and the want of malice."

Nov. 1813

James Park v. Abel Willis

2 Cranch 83

In Jan. 1802, plaintiff hired the defendant's slave Anthony, valued at \$500, for \$110, until 1st January 1803; defendant transported him from the town of Alexandria in the sloop *Hope* to Philadelphia on December 25 1802, where the slave made his escape. Action founded on Va laws 17 Dec 1792, 192, sec 50, and 25 Jan 1798, 374, sec. 6 and 7. Damages for plaintiff, \$453. "A master of a vessel is liable to the owner of a slave for his loss if he take the slave out of the county of Alexandria without a written authority from his owner... a general hiring to the defendant without any limitation as to the nature or place of employment is not such a permission, although the plaintiff knew the defendant was a master of a vessel and the slave a seaman"

June 1814

Negro Emanuel v. Henry W. Ball

2 Cranch 101

Petition for freedom. Emmanuel permitted to come from Virginia to the city of Washington to see his wife and to return by a certain day; he stayed some months longer. "He was taken up in Washington but escaped and eloped. The agent of his owner sold him to the defendant while he was so eloped and while he was in the city of Washington." Court instructed the jury that Emanuel was not entitled to his freedom under Md. Law of 1796.

June term 1818

US v. Stephen Potter

RG21, E 6, Crim. Apps 80

White teacher accused of "aiding and assisting a certain slave by the name of William in making his escape from his master; forging an instrument of writing and furnishing Wm. therewith by which he passed as a free man of color." Much evidence in the file, including forged pass, affidavits, and runaway notice placed by Commodore David Porter. Potter denied the charge. Found not guilty

Nov. 1818

Thomas L. Washington v. William Wilson

2 Cranch 153

"Action upon the case for the value of a slave... carried away as a seaman by the defendant and lost... The Court refused to suffer evidence to be given that the slave hired himself as a free man to another master of a vessel in a previous voyage..." Verdict for the plaintiff, \$400 damages, "the slave being supposed to be worth \$800."

Nov. 1818

Richard H. Love v. Washington Boyd

2 Cranch 153

Action against the Marshall of the District for negligently suffering plaintiff's female slave to escape. She had been committed for safe keeping after suing for her freedom... Verdict for the plaintiff \$250 2 Cranch 156 Nov 1818 U.S. vs., James Godley Indictment for stealing a mulatto boy named Wm. Foote of the price of \$500, the goods and chattels of Fanny Thomas Indictment quashed because the court did not aver the boy to be a slave.

June term 1820

Grand jury presentment

RG 21, E 6 Presentments 13B

Evidence presented to charge William Thompson and Benjamin Bridges with "harboring a runaway slave," the property of Leonard Mackall, 8th March 1819 [May not have gone to trial]

June term 1820

Grand jury presentment

RG 21, E 6, Presentments 35

Evidence charging John Warden with forging papers purporting to be free papers for slaves, & selling them as such, on or about the 19th of April last. [May not have gone to trial]

May 1821

US vs. Pompey

2 Cranch 246

Indictment at common law for enticing away a slave belonging to Judge Washington Jury verdict: guilty; fine \$50. Court stated doubts that "...the indictment could be supported in law, but there was no motion in arrest of judgment."

April 1823

US v Kitty Rutherford

RG 21 E 6 Recognizances 29

Free mulatto woman, suspected by John Van Riswick of stealing from him "his Negro boy George"

May 1826

US v. Abraham Williams, negro

3 Cranch 65;RG 21, E 6, crim apps 18, judicials 212

Indictment under the 19th section of the Maryland act of 1796, c. 67, for "aiding...the escape of [Mary] a female slave of W.L. Brent [Clerk of the Court], "by means whereof she was put into a stage to be transported out of District." Event occurred on 10th October 1825; on summons, Abraham Williams is referred to as "driver for Wm. L. Brent" Court ruling: there must have been a transporting of the slave out of the District or the offence was not complete. Verdict, "not guilty."

May term 1826 US v Elijah Shay RG 21 E 6, crim apps 56

Indictment for forging a pass for Negro man named John, property of Major George Peter. Shea referred to as a “labourer”: forgery occurred 8 December 1825. Forged pass in the name of Robert Jenkins, “a coloured man of dark complexion, about 26 yrs old and about 5’9”, scar on left side of his forehead, is free born.” Guilty plea; imprisoned for 6 months and fined \$10

*Dec term 1824; Dec 1825 Jesse M. Semmes and wife v. J.H. Sherburne 2 Cranch 534, 637;
RG 21 E 6 Civil trials, 115*

Plaintiff’s slave was hired to the defendant in the District of Columbia; he took her to New Hampshire where she escaped. Ruling: “If she was taken to New Hampshire without the plaintiff’s knowledge or consent, he may recover the value of the slave; if he assented to the defendant taking her to New England, either before or after he took her, and she was lost without any negligence or omission of the defendant, the plaintiff is not entitled to recover” Verdict for the plaintiff, \$360 Dec 1827 James D. Barry v. Robert Barry Lawsuit involves slave named Anna, who was taken out of the District to “some one of the northern cities.”

*Dec. 1827; Dec. 1828 Mandeville & Larmour v. Cookendorfer 3 Cranch 257, 397;
RG21, E 6, civil trials 115*

Stage company charged with negligence: escaping slave with false pass allowed to board stage to Baltimore, causing plaintiffs to expend a large sum of money recovering him and to lose his services for 18 months. File includes a list of expenses to Boston in pursuit of slave Richard Bunbury, who had escaped from Alexandria 28th Sept. 1825, gone to DC, and “there called himself Seymore Cunningham.” He represented himself to the stage office as Cunningham, a free man of color, and had shown a certificate from a notary public. Bunbury was a “a very bright mulatto” and taller than the description in certificate. Since Cunningham was described as a dark mulatto, it was charged that “the least attention on the part of the defendant would have detected the difference.” The jury verdict for the plaintiffs, with \$200 damages. Verdict set aside: “Defendant was not bound by his orders to be more vigilant than he was...he was to permit every colored person to pass who could produce a certificate purporting to prove the freedom of the person presenting it.”

April 1830 George Stanback v. Joseph Waters 4 Cranch 2

Charge: enticing away the plaintiff’s slave, Williamson, and bringing him into the District of Columbia. Ruling: In such an action, it is not necessary to prove that the defendant knew the slave to be the slave of the plaintiff.

Dec. 1831

Negro Mary and child v. Jane Talburt

4 Cranch 187

A slave brought into the county of Washington, D.C. from Virginia, by her owner afterwards ran away, and her owner sold her “running.” She petitioned for her freedom. Court decided that Mary did not lose the benefit of the law in her favor by running away.

March 1833

US v John W. Prout

4 Cranch 301; RG21, E 6, crim. apps, 92, 94

Prout charged with giving a pass to Joseph Dosier, enslaved to Lucy R. Miller, charged with forging freedom papers for him, with enticing and persuading him to run away, and with assisting his transportation to Baltimore. File includes copy of forged pass, which describes Dosier as aged about 32, 5’5” dark complexion. Prout described as “a free person” and “laborer.” The slave, valued at \$600, was recovered by the owner, “and the expense of recovering, and loss of service, were much less than the value of the slave.” Witnesses skilled in handwriting were not allowed to give their opinions on the forgery. Jury found Prout not guilty of forging certificate of freedom but was found guilty of enticing and persuading Dosier to run away, and fined \$50. Ruling: “A count under the Md act for giving a pass to a slave is bad if it do not aver [sic] that the master or owner was thereby deprived of the service of the slave... But, upon conviction of a free person for enticing a slave to run away, and who actually ran away, the offender may be fined under the 19th section of the Act of 1796, c. 67, without an averment of loss of service.”

March 1833

US v. Abraham Johnson

4 Cranch 303 RG21, E 6, crim. apps, 93.95.101

Johnson, described as “a free person” and “laborer,” charged with assisting the transportation of Joseph Dosier “...by advice, and by conveying [him] in a gig from the County of Washington to the city of Baltimore. Johnson’s counsel, “Mr. Jones,” argued “the indictment is vague and uncertain in not stating what the advice was, nor the nature of it... nor how the advice did assist, and in not charging criminal intent, nor that the defendant knew Dosier was a slave or intended to run away.” Jury found Johnson guilty. Fined \$50. Ruling: “In an indictment under Md law, 1796, c. 67 & 19, for assisting by advice the transporting of a slave, whereby the owner was deprived of his services, it is not necessary to state what the advice was; now how it assisted him; nor is it necessary to state a criminal intent, nor that the accused knew he was slave, and intended to run away

March 1833

US v. Negro John Allen

RG21, E 6, Rough bundle

Allen charged with forging and causing to be forged freedom papers for Joseph Dosier, and for aiding and assisting him to make his escape Not reported in Cranch RG21, E 6, crim. apps, 113 March term 1833 Miscellaneous file contains “Statement of facts relating to the abduction of Mr. Gadsby’s negro” [Ben Anderson, who, with help from some white men, took a stage coach from Washington to Baltimore...]

May 1833

Negro Clara Moore v Thomas Jacobs

4 Cranch 312

Petition for freedom by Clara Moore, “owned by Mr. Mills, Alexandria, D.C., who removed to Maryland to reside” and took her

with him. She ran away and returned to Alexandria. Mills sold her, “running”, to Thomas Jacobs. She petitions for her freedom, under the 3rd section of the Md Act of 1796, c 67 Moore’s escape to Alexandria was not a voluntary importation; the sale there did not give her a right to freedom under the Md. law

May 1833, October 1833

US v. Joseph Larned

4 Cranch 335

Larned was indicted for “forging a certificate of freedom.” For whom, whether sold or given, and whether used not stated. Question arose whether a Mr. Keller, who “had written in the same office” as Larned “about three years ago” was a competent witness on his handwriting. Prisoner convicted and sentenced under the 11th sec of the Penitentiary Act of March 2, 1831 [4 Stat at Large, 448] Chief judge raised many questions, including whether indictment must not be “averred to have been done ‘to the prejudice of the right’ of some person.”

Oct. 1833

US v Summers

4 Cranch 334

Indictment for stealing a slave, property of Mrs. Jenkins. A peremptory challenge under the Va law of 13 Nov. 1792, sec 8, p. 103, allowed. Verdict: not guilty.

Nov term 1834 ***Questions re maintenance costs of runaways and petitioners for freedom*** *4 Cranch 489*

Attorney of the US and the Marshal ask: “whether the United States are liable to the marshal for the maintenance of free colored persons committed by justices of the peace as runaways and discharged on *habeas corpus*, and for maintenance of petitioners committed by order of the court to attend the trial”. Cranch reviews adopted laws of Maryland relative to runaways and responsibilities of sheriffs, and states “I believe there have been very few, if any, legal commitments of persons as runaways. I have seen many of the warrants of commitment, and I do not remember to have seen one which would, in my opinion, justify the marshal in detaining the prisoner.” Ruling: “Marshall has not a right to include in his account against the United States his imprisonment fees for persons committed as runaway servants or slaves. The expense of maintaining petitioners for freedom is one of the reasonable contingencies accruing in holding the court; ought to be allowed if petitioners gain their freedom, otherwise expenses paid by their owners”

March 1835

Elizabeth Lowe v. Stockton & Stokes

4 Cranch 537

Action for permitting the plaintiff’s slaves to be carried away in the defendant’s stagecoach. “A decent, respectable looking white woman who gave her name as Powell paid for seats for two of her servants” and said they would be there at the time of the departure of the evening stage coach. The servants came at the time and said they were the persons for whom Mrs. Powell had paid the passage, and they were permitted to take their seats. Verdict for the plaintiff: \$200. New trial granted upon new evidence that woman was named Howard, was sister of the plaintiff and resided with her. Ruling: ‘The owners of a stage coach are liable for the negligence of their agent in suffering the plaintiff’s slaves to be taken away in their coach, but not if the agent has used all the diligence which is customary and usual in similar cases.’

March term 1836

US v. John Johnson

RG21, E 6, Civil apps., 155

Charged with forging a certificate of freedom for James Francis who escaped from his master Theodore Sheckles on or about on or about 1 April 1836 John Johnson described as a laborer.” Nolle prosequi

Nov. 1836

US v. Negro Alexander Vincent

5 Cranch CC 38 RG 21E 6, Crim apps 126

Indictment for giving a pass to one of Mr. Custis’s slaves, “being a paper writing, purporting to be a certificate from the President of the Board of Alderman and Acting Mayor of the City of New York, that the bearer thereof, Alexander Vincent, was a free person. Nolle prosequi “ The Court was of the opinion that the paper was not such a “pass” as is contemplated by t he 19th section of the Md. Statute, upon which the indictment was founded.”

Nov term 1836

US v. Jane Steiner, spinster

RG21, E 6, Crim apps 127

On 4th September 1836... “did assist by advice and donation of money the transporting of a certain negro woman slave, the property of a certain George W.P. Custis, from the District of Columbia...” dated 10th Dec 1836. *Nol pros*

Nov term 1836

US v Henry Hooper *RG 21, E 6, Crim apps 167; RG 21 E 2, Vol. 13, 7 Jan 1837*

Negro slave charged with unlawfully taking from the city of Washington a negro woman slave Mary and her two children. Mary the property of Miss Adelaide Douglass. Nol pros; Hooper ordered to be discharged.

May 1837

US v. Negro Joseph Farrell

5 Cranch 311; Alexandria Gazette, 10/17/1837

Indictment against Joseph Farrell [negro or mulatto] for forging a certificate of freedom for Mr. T.F. Mason’s slave, Sandy. Sandy permitted to be sworn as a witness for the US. Farrell also charged with forging a pass for negro Sam, another slave of Mr. Mason, at October term 1837. The *Alexandria Gazette* reported on that in the first case, “The certificate of freedom purported to have been issued by the County Court of Prince William... The Seal (a pair of scales, with a tobacco leaf below them, and the words “Prince William County” in the margin) was tolerably well executed, but the name of the presiding justice, Mr. Ewell, was spelled ‘Uile.’ The handwriting was stiff and labored, but perfectly distinct.” For the second indictment “...for forging a similar instrument of the same purport, the seal was somewhat better executed than the last, but the name of Mr. Ewell was still spelled ‘Uile.’ ...The forgery was clearly proved by the testimony of a slave belonging to a gentleman of this place, to whom the prisoner had given the paper in question for the consideration of four dollars, to enable him to pass as a free man. The slave ran away and was apprehended during

the recess of the Court. The previous conviction was in a case of similar circumstances, but the slave, belonging o the same gentleman, and who had also runaway, was taken before the last term of the Court. Ferrall's handwriting was...in the present case proven by the oath of a gentleman residing in town who had seen him write and who swore that the writing of the forged instrument was in his belief the prisoner's." Verdict guilty. Farrell sentenced to penitentiary for 4 years, 13 May 1837; convicted of like offence, Oct term, 1837, then in custody at the District Penitentiary... Sentenced to 3 years additional years. Rulings: slaves are competent witnesses in Alexandria Co. against Negroes and mulattoes, and that a sentence for a second offence while in penitentiary for the first can commence at the end of the first sentence

Nov term 1837 ***US v Negro William Richardson*** *5 Cranch 338*

Richardson charged with being a runaway and jailed. His lawyer, J. A. Carlisle, challenged old laws of Maryland relative to runaways and presented evidence that prisoner was born free in New Brunswick. Prisoner discharged because court was satisfied that he was not a runaway. Ruling: "A warrant or commitment of a person as a runaway is not sufficient, unless it state on its face that the party has been convicted of being a runaway servant or slave. It is not sufficient to state in the warrant that the party is 'charged with being a runaway.'"

Feb. 1849 ***Drayton v US*** [*"The Pearl Affair"*] *1 H and H 369; RG 21 E 45; RG 21 E 43, Vol. 11*

Many indictments for larceny of slaves and for transporting them out of the District so as to enable them to escape from their owners. Daniel Drayton and Edward Sayres tried for stealing and carrying away two Negro slaves of Andrew Hoover Two trials: at the first, Drayton convicted of stealing two slaves; judgment reversed and case remanded; Drayton convicted of transporting under 1796 Md Act c 67 sect 19. "That if the jury find that the two slaves were runaways and that the prisoner, having the control of the schooner Pearl, did receive the said runaways on board with intent to transport them beyond the limited of the county of Washington, in the they that they should escape from the owners and go to a state where slavery does not exist, and did in fact so transport them, then the offence is that which is provided for in the act of Maryland, 1796, c. 67, sect. 19 and is not larceny.

1 April 1851 ***Petition*** *NA, Microfilm 433, Roll 3, Fugitive Slave Case Papers, 1851-63*

Petition to Circuit Court, under provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law Catharine J. Gaston, Spinster, petitions to reclaim "a certain mulatto slave named Isaac Starkey" who escaped from the District and "is now in the state of NY." He escaped "about two years ago", was about 30 to 35 years old, 5 ft 10 or 11, eyes light colored. Court considers that full and satisfactory proof has been made... Provides transcript and attestation.

16 Dec 1856 ***Petition*** *NA, Microfilm 433, Roll 3, fol 1180 Fugitive Slave Case Papers, 1851-63*

Petition to Circuit Court, under provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law Mary Massey [?] of the County of Alexandria, State of Va., "applies to the Circuit Court of the District for the rendition to her of a certain black negro woman named Mary Ann Williams. Marshall of the District...commanded to arrest her...she being found in your bailiwick..." Transcript, Alexandria County Court, 16

Dec, 1856. Proved that Mary Ann Williams who was held to labor by Mary Massey has escaped... about 35 years old, dark complexion, short and thick set... Williams brought into court; ordered 17 Dec. that the Marshall deliver her to Mary Massey, who was authorized to transport her to Va., Massey to pay costs of detention and arrest

*7 Oct. 1859 **Petition** NA, Microfilm 433, Roll 3, fol 1181**Fugitive Slave Case Papers, 1851–63*
Petition to Circuit Court, under provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law Petition by Benjamin O. Shekels (Sheckills), resident of DC, wishes to reclaim a bright mulatto man, George Washington Hawkins, “aged about 33, 5 ft 10, a scar about an inch in length on his forehead. He escaped and is now in some other state and territory of the US” Circuit Court records proof of claim and furnishes it to petitioner, who pays legal fees.

**(B) Circuit Court Documents Relating to Abolitionism,
Black Codes, and Legal Rights in Washington, D.C.**

July term 1805 ***US v. Henry Fisher, a free white man*** *1 Cranch 245*

Wife-beating case; question whether Lucy Butler, a black woman, can testify for the United States. She is said to have “always passed for a free woman for many years.” Permitted to be sworn: ruling, a free Negro is a competent witness against a free white man; general reputation of freedom is sufficient to rebut the presumption of slavery arising from color.

Dec term 1806 ***Minchin v. Docker*** *1 Cranch 370*

Case raised question whether a free black man, Charles Cavender, could be admitted as a witness and testify against white persons. Ruling: A free man, born of a white woman, is competent witness against a white man. Evidence that a black man has, for many years, publicly acted as a free man and been generally reputed to be free, rebuts the presumption of slavery arising from color, and is evidence that he was born of a white woman.

Dec term 1808 ***US v. Michael Mullany*** *1 Cranch 517*

White man indicted for assault and battery; free Negroes and mulattoes are offered as witnesses for the prosecution. Cranch’s opinion: “free born Negroes, not subject to any term of servitude by law, are competent witnesses in all cases. Color alone is no objection to a witness.

June term 1811 ***Bell v. Hogan*** *2 Cranch 21*

Charge of assault, battery and false imprisonment. Defendant took up plaintiff as a runaway If a colored man was born a slave, his being permitted to go at large without restraint and to act as a freeman is no evidence of his being free. If the plaintiff’s freedom was not so notorious that the defendant might be presumed to know it, the defendant is not liable to damages for taking up the plaintiff as a runaway, he being a colored man and *prima facie* a slave.

Dec term 1813 ***US v. Ruth Douglass*** *2 Cranch 94*

Indictment of a white woman for larceny; Nancy Butler, a free born mulatto, permitted to testify. Ruling: a free born mulatto is a competent witness against a white person.

Oct term 1821 ***Billy Costin v. Corporation of Washington*** *2 Cranch 254*

Challenge to curfew law: appeal of a \$5 fine under the 7th section of the bylaw of the Corp. of Washington, 14 April 1821, "An Act to prescribe the terms and conditions under which free Negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city of Washington..." Judgment reversed, with costs. "The clause in the charter of Washington which gives power to the corporation to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which free Negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city is applicable only to those persons of color who come to reside in the city after the promulgation of such terms and conditions." The cause in the charter is not, it itself, repugnant to the constitution of the United States.

May term 1830 ***Harriet Anderson v. Corp of Washington*** *RG 21 E6 Appeals 23*

Curfew challenge by "Free negro found in one of the streets of the City of Washington, at a later hour than half after 10 o'clock."

April term 1826 ***US v Negro Calvin and other slaves*** *2 Cranch 640*

Riot, and assault and battery by slaves on a constable. Defendants' masters moved to quash the indictment, Va law of 17 Dec 1792 p. 187 sec 11; riots, unlawful assemblies, seditious speeches by slaves to be punished with stripes at the discretion of a justice of the peace. Court determined that it did not have jurisdiction: prisoners committed to trial before a justice of the peace.

May term 1832 ***US v. Benjamin Lundy*** *RG 21 E6 Criminal appearances, 11*

Charge: "an agent for procuring subscriptions and for circulating among free negroes and slaves a seditious and mischievous newspaper, *The Liberator*..."

May term 1832 ***US v Wm Lloyd Garrison, Isaac Knapp*** *RG 21 E6 Criminal appearances, 12, 13*

"Editors and publishers of a scandalous and mischievous newspaper *The Liberator* for the purpose of inflaming and exciting the free negroes and slaves to insurrection."

Sept term 1833 ***US v Negro Henry Steward*** *RG 21 E6 Crim trials 1 Sept term 1833*

Charged with distributing abolitionist literature

Sept term 1833 ***US v Negro William V. Grant*** *RG 21 E6 Crim trials 2*

Charged with distributing abolitionist literature

Nov term 1833

US v. William Green

RG 21 E6 Crim apps 78

Charged with libel for publishing “There is neither mercy nor justice for colored people in the district,” words meant to “injure, oppress, aggrieve & vilify the good name fame credit & reputation of the Magistrates and constables of Washington County.” File contains a copy of *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for June 1833.

Nov term 1834

US v. Negro William Wormley

RG 21 E6 Civil trials 1

Charged with being an agent for procuring subscribers to the *Liberator*....

Nov term 1835

US v JB Hutton et al

RG 21 E 6, Recognizances 77

John B Hutton charged with “keeping and circulating divers tracts, pamphlets, newspapers and other papers...the tendency whereof was to excite misrule, rebellion, riot and disorder...” Copy of 1835 *Antislavery Record* (vol. 1 no 2) included in the file. Mar 1838

Mar 1838

Negro Harriet Johnson v. Corp of Washington

5 Cranch 434

Justice of the Peace had “rendered judgment against a Negro ‘for a fine for keeping a tavern without a license.’” Challenge to right of the corp. to discriminate between white persons and free colored persons by prohibiting granting of tavern licenses to the latter. “Corporation has the discretion to prohibit granting of tavern licenses to colored persons.”

Nov 1838

Mary Jennings v. Corp of Washington

5 Cranch 512

Appeal from the judgment of a justice of the peace against Mary Jennings, free mulatto, fined \$10 for being out after 10 o'clock at night. Argued that Corp. had no authority to prohibit free persons of color from being out after 10 o'clock at night. Judgment affirmed with costs; bylaw justified by the clause in the charter that empowers the corporation “to restrain and prohibit nightly and disorderly meetings of slaves, free Negroes and mulattoes.”

March 1839

Negro Lloyd Nichols v. F. Burch and D.S Waters

5 Cranch 553

Constables charged with assault, battery and false imprisonment under city bylaw instituting curfew. Argued that Corp had no power to pass such a bylaw not equally applicable to white persons. “The Corporation of Washington had power to pass by-law of 31 May 1827, sect. 6, to prevent free persons of color from being out after 10 p.m. without a pass. The plaintiff became nonsuit.”

April 1843

Charles H. Brown v. Robert B. Robertson

1 H & H, 134

Assault, battery and wrongful imprisonment charge brought by Brown, a free negro in employ of Senator Daniel Webster, arrested by Robertson, a police officer, and imprisoned in the watch house for being out after 10 p.m. To entitle him to remedy, plaintiff must show that he exhibited the evidence of his exemption” from the May 1827 bylaw to the arresting officer and prove in court that he did so. Judgment for the defendant.

(C) Other Relevant Court Documents

Nov 1835

US v. Arthur (alias John Arthur Bowen)

RG 21 E6 Crim trial 102

Charged with “attempting to murder his mistress,” Anna Maria Thornton; allegedly uttered abolitionist slogans at the time. Incident was a contributing factor to the Snow Riot of August 1835 [see below and US v. Reuben Crandell] Plea not guilty. Sentenced to death 23 Jan 1836, “but he was reprieved... and finally pardoned at the instance of his mistress.”

April 1836

US v Fenwick

4 Cranch 275

Indictment for a riot. Defendants [to the number of nearly 100, armed with clubs) surrounded, and entered the house of Snow and Walker, and destroyed their goods. Walker is described as “a colored man, and a partner of Snow.” Jury found six defendants guilty; sentenced to 6 months imprisonment, and to pay fine of \$50 and costs.

Nov 1842

Thomas Smallwood v. Abraham Cole

RG 21 E6, Imparlances, 89

(C) A Summary of Laws and Regulations Affecting Runaways and Free African Americans in the District of Columbia¹

In 1801, the Congress declares that laws of Virginia and Maryland are in force in the District of Columbia: Maryland laws apply to the area of the 10-mile square north of the Potomac that was formerly Maryland, and Virginia laws apply to the area south of the Potomac, formerly Virginia.

Solitary confinement and public whipping (at the Circuit Court's discretion, but not exceeding "forty stripes at one time") are prescribed for slaves convicted of:

- forging passes or certificates of freedom
- being more than three miles from their employers without a pass
- carrying offensive weapons
- uttering seditious words or attending "unlawful assemblies" and "tumultuous meetings"
- "consulting, advising, attempting or conspiring" to make an "insurrection"
- lifting their hands "in opposition to any person not being a negro or mulatto, unless in self-defense against an unlawful assault."

• Fines are imposed on any "master, mistress or overseer" who knowingly allows the slaves of others to remain on their property for more than four hours without their overseers' consent.

• Free persons convicted of being in the company of slaves at unlawful meetings or who harbor or entertain any slave without the consent of his or her owner can be fined up to \$100 and may be confined "at hard labor or in solitude" for up to 30 days.

• Ship's masters and other people who transport or carry away slaves without the consent of their owners are liable to such owners for \$300 per slave and "liable to the suit of the party grieved...for his or her damages." "In each of these actions the defendant shall, upon affidavit, be held to special bail by the endorsement of the clerk who shall issue the writ."

• Free persons forging or counterfeiting passes or manumission documents for a slave, together with free negroes and mulattoes who provide copies of their papers to a slave, are liable to pay his or her owners \$200 and, upon conviction, may be confined to hard labor or in solitude for up to one year.

• Free persons enticing, assisting or advising a slave to run away "shall forfeit and pay one hundred dollars to the owner of such slave, and... shall, moreover, be liable for damages at the suit of such owner."

• Anyone in the District harboring or employing a free negro or mulatto or a "pretended free negro or mulatto" without a certified copy of the city's registration can be fined \$5 for each offence and is liable for damages by the "party grieved."

• Negroes and mulattoes in the District who do not have certified copies of their registrations and who are not slaves may be taken up as runaways or vagrants before justices of the peace. Those believed to be runaways may be committed to the penitentiary at hard labor "until duly discharged;" if they are believed to be free but not registered, they may be certified by after they "enter into recognizance, with good security" for \$100. Without this, the justice may "by warrant...commit such negro or mulatto to the penitentiary, to remain at hard labor for a term of 6 months, and until the costs of the commitment and prison fees are paid, unless he or she shall sooner enter into recognizance, with security,...and pay such costs and prison fees."

- The trustees of the penitentiary shall give notice by “advertisement” once a week for six weeks when a person is committed there as a runaway slave. Such persons are compelled to labor, for which they are credited “a reasonable price”, but they are charged for “fees of commitment, and a reasonable price for his or her food and other necessities,” If, within 6 months, such people establishes their right to freedom, they shall be discharged. If their labor exceeds charges, he or she is entitled to the balance. If not, and if he or she is unable or unwilling to pay the balance owing, with “reasonable public notice,” the trustees of the penitentiary shall sell at public auction the services of the person “for the shortest time that will raise such balance, and the additional fees of advertisement.” If the runaway cannot establish a claim to freedom and is not claimed by an owner within six months, he or she is to be sold at public auction as a slave, after reasonable public notice. This sale does not “prejudice” his or her claim to freedom, but bars the claim of any former owner, other than to the balance of the proceeds of the sale, if demanded within three years.

- Any weapons (whether offensive or defensive, including clubs and powder) in the possession of any negro or mulatto may be seized by any white person and forfeited to him or her, after proof is presented to a justice of the peace, who can also sentence the negro or mulatto to confinement at hard labor for 30 days.

- Thirty days at hard labor is also the penalty if a free negro or mulatto “lifts his or her hand in opposition to a person not being a negro or mulatto.”

- Free negroes, mulattoes or other persons in the District living idle or going at large “without any visible, lawful means of maintenance...” or “found, after the hour of ten of the clock at night, and before day-light in the morning, loitering in any...street, lane, alley, or highway, without any apparent lawful business...” may be required by a justice of the peace “or other officer having the powers of a justice or a conservator of the peace” to “enter into recognizance, with good security, in a sum not exceeding \$200, to be of good behavior for one year. Lacking this, he or she may be confined in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding 3 months.

- No person having less than one-fourth of negro blood shall be deemed either a negro or a mulatto.

Legislative Acts Relating to Runaways and Free Blacks in Virginia

- Free Negroes or mulattoes to be registered and numbered in a book kept by the town clerk: an annual copy provided for 25 cents; a new certificate is needed every three years
- If a Negro without a certificate is employed, he or she may be committed to jail.
- No free Negroes are allowed to migrate to the Commonwealth.
- Carrying away any slave is punishable by a fine from \$100 to \$500 and imprisonment in the jail or penitentiary from 2 to 4 years, and payment to the owner of the slave of double the value of the slave. Masters of vessels who permit slaves to come on board...shall forfeit \$200 in addition to the penalties imposed. (1805)
- Free Negroes are not to carry a firearm without a license (1806).
- Any person who apprehends a runaway slave is entitled to a reward of \$2.00 and mileage. If the runaway is not claimed within 12 months, he or she shall be advertised for sale by the sheriff. (1808)
- Because of serious inconvenience experienced by Virginians from the frequent elopement of slaves to states north of the Potomac it is enacted that hereafter \$20.00 reward, and mileage, be allowed any person who may apprehend any runaway slave attempting to cross the Potomac if the plantation on which the slave is employed be not less than ten miles from the river...(1817)
- For enticing or advising any servant or slave away from home, or knowingly employing or harboring a runaway servant or slave, the penalty is \$10 to \$20, one half to the informer and the other half to the Literary Fund, or 10 to 20 lashes on the bare back if not paid. (1824)
- Persons assisting slaves to escape shall be punished by confinement in jail 3 to 12 months, be fined at the discretion of the jury, and liable also to action by the party aggrieved.(1829)
- Free Negroes and mulattoes who remain in the Commonwealth contrary to law are to be sold publicly. (1831)
- Riots and unlawful assembly, trespasses and seditious speeches by Free Negroes shall hereafter be punished with stripes, as directed for slaves. (1832)
- If any free person shall advise or persuade any slave to abscond, or shall furnish any slave any pass, or any money, clothes, or provisions to aid such slave to abscond, every such person, being free, shall be guilty of felony and shall be imprisoned for from 2 to 5 years.
- If a slave shall commit or aid such offense, he shall receive 39 lashes...(1834)
- If the owner of a runaway slave does not claim him within four months after the keeper of the jail has advertised, the runaway shall be sold. (1835)
- Railroads are forbidden to receive any slave or slaves on cars, without first obtaining permission in writing from the owner under penalty of \$100, and shall be liable to the party aggrieved for damages. (1837)
- It is declared a felony to permit slaves to cross ferries or bridges without their owners' consent in writing; the punishment is 2 to 5

years and liability also to private action. (1839)

- Patrols are authorized to force open the doors of free Negroes and of slaves in the absence of their masters, when access is denied, when in search of firearms or other weapons, by authority of a warrant.

- Any person apprehending a runaway slave above 16 years of age more than 20 miles from his place of abode and within 10 miles of dividing lines between Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland shall be entitled to recover \$30 and 10 cents for every mile he shall necessarily convey the runaway. (1841)

Laws Passed by the Corporation of Washington

1808

A \$5 fine is imposed on any “Negro or loose idle disorderly person” found on the streets after 10 o’clock at night. Any slave whose master refuses to pay his fine is to be whipped.

1812

The \$5 fine is quadrupled. If this \$20 fine is unpaid, the penalty is 6 months in jail. The penalty for slaves caught at nightly and disorderly meetings is 40 lashes.

The corporation prescribes terms under which freedmen without visible means of support might reside in the city.

Every free Negro is to carry a certificate of freedom.

1821

Free people of color are to appear in person before the mayor to show free papers, along with certificates signed by three white residents that vouch for their good character and a peace bond of \$20, “surety for good behavior” is to be furnished to a “respected white man.”

1822

Free Negroes are to register within 10 days of coming to city. A charge of 25 cents is imposed for the required permit or certificate for each head of the family or single person. A \$6 fine or imprisonment not exceeding 10 days is imposed “for each neglect.”

People of color are forbidden from assembling “in the street or any other place in a tumultuous manner.” Penalties imposed are “not over 20 lashes” for a slave, and fines of “not more than \$20” for free blacks and mulattos. If the latter are unable to pay these fines, the penalty is imprisonment for up to 90 days.

Increase of fine to \$20 for free Negroes and mulattoes who are “at large after 10 pm without a pass;” The penalty for non-payment of this fine is imprisonment for 90 days. The penalty for slaves being at large after 10 pm is up to 39 lashes.

Any colored persons apprehended on any of these charges is to be confined in the lock-up houses in each ward. Constables neglecting their duty are to be fined \$5.

1827

By 30 October, all males 16 and up and females 14 and older are to exhibit satisfactory evidence of their freedom and

provide a list of persons of color who live in their houses. A \$6 fine is imposed for each month that this is not done.

The Corporation is to furnish written permit under its seal, free of expense, to each head of family of free Negroes and mulattoes. This authorizes them to reside in the city.²

Residents are not to employ, harbor or conceal any free black or mulatto person who cannot produce such a permit from the register. On conviction before a Justice of the Peace, a sum not exceeding \$5 is imposed as the fine for each and every offence.

Police constables in each ward are charged with execution of this act: if they fail to enforce, they are to be fined a sum not exceeding \$20.

Any slave on conviction before a justice of the peace, may be sentenced to receive up to 39 stripes on his or her bare back.

Those apprehended for being out after 10 pm without a pass are to be confined in lock up house until the following morning and may be fined \$20. This does not apply to those engaged in trips to the meeting house or places of worship, or those sent on errands by their employers or owners.

Free Negroes moving to city are required to post a peace bond of \$500, to be renewed every year. Those not complying must depart the city or be committed to workhouse for up to 12 months.

Negro residents are to be committed jail as absconding slaves if they cannot establish their freedom, unless they are hired to a resident who has paid requisite tax on them.³

1836

A \$1000 peace bond is required from free Negroes and mulattoes, signed by five white residents. Failure to comply may invoke a \$20 fine and an order to depart the city.

No licenses are to be granted for a free Negro or mulatto, except for driving carts, drays, hackney carriages or wagons; no licenses of any kind are to be granted to free Negroes or mulattoes not residents of the city before passage of this act.

All secret or private meetings or assemblages whatsoever, and all meetings for religious worship beyond hour of 10 are unlawful; any colored person found at such assemblages to be fined up to \$5 for each offense. A Constable can be fined \$50 for not entering houses and dispersing such meetings; he will also be deemed incapable of holding any office of power or trust for one year.

No slave of any resident is permitted to keep house in the city, unless the owner thereof previously enters into bond "with good and sufficient surety in the sum of \$500."

[The enforcement of these laws was the subject of a letter by "A Citizen" to the National Intelligencer, September 15, 1835:

"During the late excitement in this city [the so-called Snow Storm], the law of the Corporation entitled "An Act concerning Free Negroes, Mulattos, and Slaves," passed May 31, 1827, was, after a sleep of several years, strictly enforced. Some salutary additions to it were also proposed in the City Councils, but it is believed that they have never been acted on.

This is not so prominent a subject of complaint as, that since the excitement subsided, the existing law has resumed its old character of a dead letter, and the persons intended to be restrained by it have resumed their old custom of going at large at any hour of the night with impunity.

Now, if the law be a bad one, it would be better to repeal it at once; but if it be a good one, as it is thought to be by all our citizens, it ought to be enforced. The moderate and proper restraint which it imposes on the colored peo-

ple, tends to prevent occurrences that require a resort to severe measures.

... The sixth section makes it penal for any colored person to go at large through the city at a later hour than ten o'clock at night, without a pass, &c., or unless engaged in driving a cart, wagon, or other carriage; but provides an exception in favor of persons of color passing peaceably through the streets to or from any meeting house or place of worship, or sent on an errand by their owners or employers. Now, religious worship in this city seldom lasts longer than nine o'clock at night, and such colored people attending it as do not continue together for other and very different purposes, can easily reach home before ten. The exception on this subject is a temptation to hypocrisy and falsehood. And as to colored persons going on errands for their owners or employers, let them be furnished with passes in order to make the excuse available."]

1850s

Amendments reduce the amount to peace bond to \$50 and demanded the surety of one white person instead of five. ⁴

Each colored person applying for residence is to report within five days of his arrival or pay the penalty of a fine or a term in the workhouse, followed in either case at the magistrate's discretion by expulsion from the city.

Mayor's express permission is required for any public gathering of Negroes; secret meetings forbidden.

Black Code of the City of Georgetown

1831

Among punishable offences, possession or circulation of literature calculated to “excite insurrection or insubordination among the slaves or colored people, and particularly a newspaper called the *Liberator*.”

1836

Security bonds increased to \$1000, and five white signatories required.

People of color not allowed to carry guns.

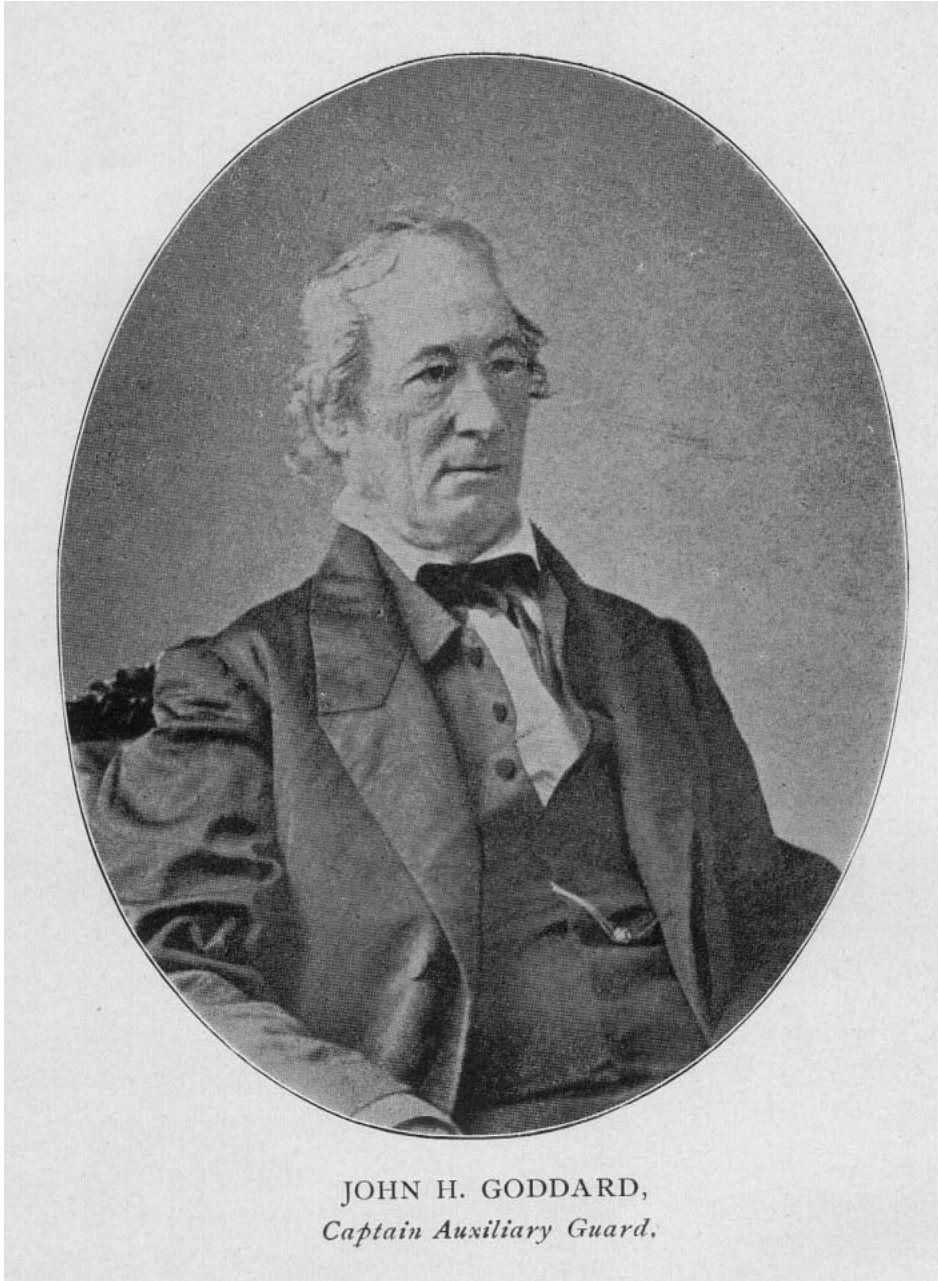
10 pm curfew to be strictly enforced

¹ Extracted from *The Code of Laws for the District of Columbia. Prepared Under the Authority of The Act of Congress of the 29th of April, 1816* (Washington: Printed by Davis & Force, 1819).

² The Corporation’s *Act Concerning Free Negroes, Mulattoes and Slaves*,

³ May 31, 1827.

⁴ The slave tax amounted to \$5 for each male aged 12–18, and \$20 for a male over 18 whereas the tax for a female slave over 15 was \$2.



(Sylvester, comp., *District of Colombia Police: A Retrospect...* 1894.)

Clerks of the Court:
Uriah Forrest, William Brent, and
John A. Smith

(Noel and Downing, *The Court-House of
the District of Columbia*)

District Attorneys Francis Scott Key
and Philip Barton Key



(LC-H824-T-0532)



Chief Justice William Cranch,
1768–1855.
(LC-USZ62-109848)

Judges of the District's Circuit Court and U.S.
Attorney Walter Jones
(Noel and Downing, *The Court-House of the
District of Columbia*)

Washington Jail, 1839–1874 (Goode, *Capital Losses*)

Upper map (dated 1839) shows early location of Washington Jail, directly behind City Hall. The old jail building was turned into a hospital. The new jail was built north and east of it, as shown on the 1850 map.

Part III: Recorded Escapes from Slavery In or Through the District of Columbia

(A) Runaway Ads in the *National Intelligencer*, 1800-29

(B) Runaways from the District who Reached Freedom, as
reported by William Still and Thomas Smallwood

(C) Fugitives on the *Pearl*, April 1848

Part III. Recorded Escapes from Slavery In or Through the District of Columbia

(A) Runaway Ads in the *National Intelligencer*, 1800–29.

The runaway ads in this compilation were derived from Volumes 1–8 of Joan M. Dixon’s *National Intelligencer & Washington Advertiser Newspaper Abstracts*.¹ These volumes (which have a chronological arrangement and only a surname index) include a large number of runaway advertisements.

Many of these advertisements were placed by persons living outside the District, and as far afield as Georgia and the Carolinas. Since the runaways in question may never have arrived at or passed through the 10-mile square, such ads were not included in this compilation. (A few exceptions were made when the advertiser was well known.) The runaway ads selected for inclusion either contained specific references to the District of Columbia, or they were assumed to have been placed by District residents since they omitted addresses and relied on name recognition—a more unlikely strategy for someone distantly located.

Of course, this compilation will not comprise all potentially successful in or through the District that occurred between 1800 and 1829, since all local slaveholders did not necessarily place runaway advertisements in the *National Intelligencer*.²

Still, even with these limitations, the details and the patterns revealed in these runaway notices may help to forward scholarly research in the history of the underground railroad in Washington, D.C., and to illuminate some aspects of the local history of enslaved people and their enslavers. Since gender, racial characteristics, and familial relationships of runaways are now of scholarly interest,³ all such data were transcribed from the runaway notices extracted from Dixon’s volumes. It may be worth noting that the importance of the family in slavery shines through, even in these truncated abstracts.

Dixon’s abstracts omit many other noteworthy details that were often included in runaway advertisements—such as clothing, hair styles, mannerisms, speech, and personality traits. The original advertisement will be worth looking up, for these and other purposes.

Dixon’s abstracts include numerous notices for suspected runaways who had been lodged in local jails.⁴ Such ads were not extracted for this compilation, since these unsuccessful escapes do not fall under the underground railroad definition used for this project. Further, a considerable portion of these ads attest that the person incarcerated as a runaway was claiming to be free. Indeed, many were, including, famously, Gilbert Horton, whose notice of jailing appeared in the *National Intelligencer* on 1 August 1826.⁵

Possibly, in very few cases, the extracted advertisement may reference an indentured servant rather than a runaway from slavery. Ads for fugitive apprentices were fairly commonplace in the Dixon volumes, but strikingly, the rewards offered for their apprehension were paltry, even insulting—such as “half a cent,” “100 rusty needles”, or “one cent and a large cinder.”

The abbreviations used in the following extracts are mostly derived from Dixon's abstracts, with the exception of "ns" in the reward column, which means "not stated/"

(B) Runaways Who Reached Freedom (Reported by Smallwood and Still)

Many of the runaways being advertised for in *National Intelligencer* advertisements may not have reached freedom. Some were captured and jailed; others may have returned voluntarily to the families, homes, and people they knew—a pattern described in *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*.⁶

The need remains for a list of successful escapes from slavery in the District: a comprehensive one would require a great deal more research, but the two 19th-century sources listed above provide a starting point.

The 1851 publication by local underground railroad activist Thomas Smallwood is perhaps less reliable than Still's 1871 tome, since the latter was based on documentation kept by him and the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee and was published after participants were no longer in danger from fugitive slave laws.⁷

Still's information about escapees from Alexandria has been scrutinized by persons connected to the Alexandria Archaeology program. Using census and property tax assessment records, they located addresses of five Alexandria slaveholders named by Still who sustained underground railroad losses before 1846 (the retrocession). No evidence was found of five other Alexandria slaveholders named in Still's account. Among the five addresses located, two houses from the period are extant—at 505 Cameron and 107 South Union. Whether these are the sites from which escapes occurred remains unknown, since Still noted that slaves who were connected to these sites—Joe Ball to the first, and Richard Bayne to the second—were hired out.

Further research in a variety of records—including newspapers, Canadian nominal censuses, and in the correspondence of anti-slavery activists—will be required to validate these listings, and to add data for hundreds of others who successfully made it out of the District of Columbia and to freedom.

(C) Fugitives on *The Pearl*

Though they did not succeed in escaping from slavery, the runaways involved in this spectacular mass escape in April 1848 focused national attention on the operation of the underground railroad in the District of Columbia. The capture of the schooner *Pearl* was disastrous for her passengers and crew, though their harsh treatment eventually generated much sympathetic response for the anti-slavery movement and brought into very sharp focus the image of the national capital as a place where families were divided and sold south, and where ghastly slave pens and inhuman slave traders held sway.

Another important aftermath was the gathering of a white mob intent on intimidating and destroying the *National Era*, the abolitionist press in Washington. Gamaliel Bailey bravely faced this mob down; authorities rose to the occasion, and the City and its African American community were spared a reign of terror similar to that unleashed by another white mob in 1835, after the arrest of a reported abolitionist, Reuben Crandall.

Historical accounts of the *Pearl* Affair have tended to focus on its aftermath—on the threatened mob violence, on rousing speeches in Congress by Josiah Giddings and others, on Gamaliel Bailey’s bravery, on the reaction of the slavocracy, and on the trial of supercargo Daniel Drayton and Captain Edward Sayres⁸—but have done little to illuminate the *Pearl* captives themselves, with the exception of the Edmonson family.⁹

A comprehensive list of *Pearl* captives has never been published, though their names appeared in the Washington *Daily Union* newspaper on 19 April 1848, and were inscribed in documents that can be found within Record Group 21 at the National Archives. One such roster is a document entitled “List of negroes captured on board the Pearl,” dated 17 April 1848 and signed by H.C. Williams.¹⁰ Both listings include the names of their enslavers.

These sources have been combined to produce the following list. It includes at least one free man—Daniel Bell (*see biographies*)—and perhaps others who embarked on the *Pearl* with enslaved family members.

The names of slaveholders and captives were not entirely consistent between the two documents, neither do these names always coincide with those given in numerous indictments of the *Pearl*’s three-man crew—Daniel Drayton, Edward Sayres, and Chester English.¹¹ Each of these indictments charge one of the three with larceny and transporting: “viz, of a certain slave namedof the value of..... the property of one” The values are not entirely consistent from one indictment to another.¹²

Perhaps some of these variances in the different contemporary listings can be attributed to the fact that some of the enslaved—including the Edmonsons—had been hired out to others, a common practice among slaveholders in the District. This complicates an investigation of the geography of the *Pearl* captives as a factor in their coming together.

More research remains—in these documents and others—to produce an authoritative list that resolves such discrepancies, and to puzzle out the factors that contributed to the gathering of these passengers on board the *Pearl*. Such analysis may reveal important information about underground railroad networks that were in operation in Washington D.C. in the spring of 1848.

¹ Joan M. Dixon, *National Intelligencer & Washington Advertiser Newspaper Abstracts*, 8 vols. (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996–99).

² W.C. Clephane claimed that some runaway advertisements were fraudulent, intended to mask sales of slaves by slaveholders: “It was said to be quite a common thing for persons driven by financial embarrassments to part with slaves and who desired to conceal this condition from their neighbors or escape the indignation, which was sometimes aroused upon the separation of one member of a family from another, to insert such advertisements and claim that the slaves had run away. Walter C. Clephane, “The Local Aspect of Slavery in the District of Columbia,” *CHS Records*, 3 (1900), 234.

³ See, for example, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 209–33.

⁴ Of 375 African Americans jailed as runaways in the District between 1800 and 1862, William Laprade estimated that 100 professed they were free. Of this 375, 85 were later advertised for sale by the Marshal of the District, including 45 of the 100 claiming

to be free. William T. Laprade, "The Domestic Slave Trade in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History*, 11, 1 (January 1926), 48.

⁵ This advertisement relative to Gilbert Horton, a free born New Yorker, triggered a national uproar involving the President, the Governor of New York, and a Congressional inquiry. See Mary Tremain, *Slavery in the District of Columbia; the Policy of Congress and the Struggle for Abolition*, (Repr. 1892 ed. , New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 42–44.

⁶ Franklin and Schweninger, op. cit., 100–109.

⁷ William Still, *The Underground Rail Road. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c....* (Repr. 1871 ed.. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970); Thomas Smallwood, *A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood (Coloured Man:)...Together with an Account of the Underground Railroad, Written by Himself* (Toronto: Printed for the Author by James Stephens, 1851).

⁸ See Richard C. Rohrs, "Antislavery Politics and the Pearl Incident of 1848," *Historian*, 56, 4 (Summer 1994), 711–23; Mary Kay Ricks, "Escape on The Pearl," *Washington Post*, 12 August 1998, H1, 4–5; Stanley Harrold, "The Pearl Affair: The Washington Riot of 1848," *CHS Records*, 50 (1980), 140–60.

⁹ Harriet Beecher Stowe helped to make the Edmonsons famous, along with a beautiful *Pearl* captive named Emily Russell. See *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded...* (Repr, 1853 ed. (N.Y.: Arno Press, 1968), 310–34. The Edmonsons also inspired a book by a descendant: John Henry Paynter's *Fugitives of The Pearl* (Repr, 1930 ed., New York: AMS Press [1971]).

¹⁰ National Archives, RG21, E6, US v Daniel Drayton, Crim. Apps, June 1848.

¹¹ Of the three, Daniel Drayton, the supercargo, bore most responsibility for the mission. He hired the *Pearl* from Captain Edward Sayres. Chester English was a novice sailor and cook who was innocent of the main purpose of the voyage from Philadelphia to Washington. See Daniel A. Drayton, *Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton: For Four Years and Four Months a Prisoner for Charity's Sake in a Washington Jail. Including a Narrative of the Voyage and Capture of the Schooner Pearl* (Boston: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1855); see also S. G. Howe, *Narrative of the Heroic Adventures of Drayton, an American Trader, in The Pearl, Coasting Vessel, which was Captured by American Citizens, near the Mouth of the Potomac, Having on Board Seventy-seven Men, Women, and Children, Endeavoring to Escape from Slavery in the Capital of the American Republic* (London: Ward and Co., 1848).

¹² Some of these discrepancies are marked with square brackets in the following listing.

Runaway Advertisements in the *National Intelligencer*, 1800–29

<i>Date</i>	<i>Escapee, Age,</i>	<i>Other Details; Advertised by</i>	<i>Reward Offered (ns = not stated)</i>
12/19/00	Fidelio	Negro, could be lurking about Mrs Young's where he has a wife Jas R Dermott	ns
2/6/01	Jack, 16	Negro Geo Andrews, Wash	\$2
2/20/01	Robert, ca 23	Negro; formerly prop of Parson Buckens of Stafford Co, by him sold to Mr Jas Patten of Alex; then sold to Wm Broch, barkpr; was seen in employ of Jas R Dermot (see 12/19/00) Richd Sandford, Orange Co Va	ns
4/20/01	Dick, ca 19	"Has belonged to Mr Richardson Stuart of Balt; left me bet Alex and Gtwn" Andrew Erwin, Wilks Co NC	ns
9/9/01	Tom, ca 40	Ran away John Stevens Wash City	\$20
8/20/02	Wm Jackson	Black man, stole \$50 belonging to Jas Maitland; I hired him from Maj McCow in Va John Harrison, Pa Av Wash	\$20
9/22/02	Sam, 21, & Luke	Negro men; ran away from Caleb Weeks; reward from Elijah Bell Elijah Bell, King St Alex	\$50
5/11/03	Girl, ca 15	Dark mulatoe [sic] French girl, not long in this country Mr Xaupi, nr the Bank	ns
7/1/03	Edmond	Negro boy Richard Frazer, Wash	\$5
8/10/03	Abraham, ca 28	Ran away at Eastern Branch Ferry; formerly the property of Dr Blake of Calvert Co Md Levin Talburt	ns
10/26/03	Bill, ca 18	Mulatto John T Mason, Gtwn	\$20

11/25/03	Jack, ca 15	Negro, raised in Dorchester Co Md Info to Col John B Earle, Wash City or Wm Richard at Pendleton Crt Hse, SC	ns
8/29/04	Rachel	Negro wench ran away Francis Clark	ns
9/28/04	Ann or Nan, ca 19	Negro girl, purchased her of Mr John Brent, nr Port Tobacco David Rawn, Wash City	ns
12/3/04	Fanny	Mulatto, ran away; informed she is in svc of Mr Thompson of Gtwn; her mistress is Miss Sara Brooks Saml Coolidge, Upper Marlboro, Md	ns
2/20/05	Hannah	Negro woman. Lived with Mr Leonard abt 2 yrs past; her mthr's name is Fanny whom I set free, her fr's name is Harry belonging to Mr Edw Washington Simon Sommers, Alexandria, DC	ns
4/17/05	Sandy, ca 22	Negro man H Rose, Alexandria	ns
4/22/05	Henry Price	Negro, purchased from Rev Bishop Nealle of Gtwn Peter Lenox, Wash	\$20
5/5/05	Armstead, ca 25	Negro man; has been hired to Mr John Woolfolk for the last 3 years Lewis Collins, Caroline Co	ns
9/18/05	Celia, ca 12	alias Nancy Adams, mulatto girl Jas S Scott Alexandria	ns
11/11/05	Aaron, ca 43	Mulatto man, ran away Edw Gantt, lvng in Gtwn	\$20
11/22/05	Len, ca 38	Negro, formerly belonged to Maj Chew, lvng at head of Herring Bay, disposed of him to Mr Wm Campbell nr Frederictown Md; purchased by Dr Manuel Kent of Lower Marlboro, who sold him to Nichs Voss Nichs Voss, Navy Yd, Wash City	\$25

12/6/05	Natt [sic], ca 35	Negro man Lewin Talburt, nr the Eastern Branch Bridge, Wash	\$10
3/21/06	Ann, ca 20	Negro, formerly belonged to John Brent, esq, nr Port Tobacco, Chas Co Md Geo Gloyd, "one of the constables of Gtown"	ns
4/4/06	Dennis	Negro Simon Sommers, Alex Co	ns
6/2/06	George, ca 24	Negro Richd Murray, lving nr Tenley town, Wash DC	ns
7/9/06*	Bill, ca 19	Negro, ran away from Pettworth farm of John Tayloe, esq, nr Washington Thos T Page, agent for John Tayloe, esq, at Neabsco Furnace, nr Dumphries, Va ns	
8/15/06	Kezziah, ca 24	Negro woman Robt Alexander, Wash	ns
10/24/06	Milly, ca 30	Mulatto Andrew T McCormick, Wash	ns
12/8/06	Moll, 25	Negro woman Geo French, Gtwn	ns
4/8/07	Fidelio	"my Negro man left my svc" Alice Dermott, Wash City	\$1
5/6/07	Wm Mason	Negro hired by me from Dr Jas H Blake of Fairfax Co Pat Farrell, Navy Yd, Wash	ns
5/16/08*	Joe Key	Negro, formerly belonged to Dr Thornton of Wash Hon Marmaduke Williams, Mbr of Cong for NC	ns
10/24/08	Giles	Negro boy; last heard of he was carried into Alexandria by Wm A Adams Chas Tyler Jr, P Wm Co, ca 8 mi from Centerville, Va	ns
12/7/08	Lyd	Negro girl John Threlkeld, Gtwn	\$20
3/10/09	Helon [sic]	Mulatto girl Wm Holmes, west Wash city	ns
5/15/09	Milly, ca 14	Supposed to be stolen...formerly the prop of Mr John Saunders of Pr Wm Co Va & his prop when sold by shrf of said Co, which girl I purch'd at said sale Jeremiah Sandford, jr	ns

6/14/09	Rosetta	Mulatto girl, prop of Rachel Gant; her mthr is at the farm of Mr Stoddert's nr Bladensburg Edw Gantt	\$10
7/17/09	Ally	Negro woman; I purchased her from Mr Custis Mary Ressler, Alexandria	\$10
8/14/09	Anthony	Mulatto, "my hse svt" CW Goldsborough	ns
4/11/10	Lotty	Runaway wench, formerly prop of Dr Edw Gantt, has lived some time past with Mrs H Hayward, well known in Wash and Gtwn Enquire of printer of this paper	\$25
6/20/10	Ben	Negro man Nichls L Queen, Wash	\$10
7/25/10	Lotty (see above, 4/11)	Mulatto wench; she absconded with a man srvt belonging to Dr Edw Gantt of Loudon Co, Va Deliver to John Travers, auct in Gtwn DC	\$50
8/15/10	Chas Parker, ca 26	Negro, has a forged pass as a free man under the name of Wm Thornton, svd as a waiter with Mr S Meyer & Mrs Wadsworth in this city Elener Beall	\$50
8/22/10	Harrison	Mulatto boy ran away; apply to Mr Hugh Drummond, Wash City, or Gwyn Page, residing in Pr Wm Co Va Saml Pryor	\$10
8/29/10	Fred'k Cromwell, 30 Negro Aquila	D Hyatt, Pa Ave Wash \$20	
9/19/10	Andrew	Black fellow Richd Delphey, Greenleafs Point Wash	\$5
1/8/11	Henny, ca 50	Negro woman, bought her of Mr Gregley on Capital Hill 20 mos ago; he bought her from the est of Mr Geo Lee, dec'd, of Chas Co, Md Ann Kedglie	ns
8/22/11	Dick	Mulatto man Lewin Talburtt, nr Eastern Branch, Wash city	ns
8/24/11	Chas	Negro boy, from Orchardfiled on Aquia Crk, Stafford Co; he belongs to Mrs Hannah Hardy & was hired by the subscriber WHP Tuckfield, Pa, Ave, or A Dowson, NJ Ave, Capitol Hill	\$5

12/31/11	Ned	Mulatto man; formerly belonged to Mr Brook lvg near Wash City & purchased from him by Mr Jas Davis jr Hugh McCalley	\$20
1/16/12	Jack, his wife Betty & their dght, Fanny 3 slaves	he calls himself John Hambleton; Betty has a mthr & bro lving in Richmond; Jack formerly belonged to J Byad; Betty was purch'd of John Corbin John Wilson, committee of Jas A Glen	\$100
2/15/12	Geo Wheatley, ca 36	Dark mulatto man; I bght him of Francis Wheatly of Chas Co Md Thady Hogan, Wash City	\$10
3/7/12	Ned Dines	Mulatto lad; can be purch'd for \$400 cash [Notice - in wash jail, 19 Mar, "Negro Ned, says he belongs to Edw Pye of Chas Co Md"] Ed H Pye	\$20
5/16/12	Suck & Betsey	2 negro women: they left my plantation in Chas Co Md Heard they were employed by Mr Carberry of the Navy Yd Ed H Pye	\$20
6/23/12	Nace	Negro man John Spalding, nr Navy Yd, Wash	\$20
7/14/12	Susan, ca 40 calls herself Sukey Boardley	Negro woman slave; she has a mthr-in-law in Balt, Md; she formerly belonged to Mr Jas Miller, merchant of Bladensburg, now a resident of Scotland Ann Tilley	\$20
1/14/12	Richd	Negro man; formerly owned by Mr Templeman of Gtwn & lately by Mr Barlow Jos Wheaton	ns
7/18/12	Joe	Prop of Mr Marcus Lattimore of Chas Co Md J Thompson, Wash City	\$10
7/25/12	Jerry Myers, bet 30 & 40 yrs	Mulatto Negro, formerly the property of Jas McCormick jr Myers & Appler, Wash City	ns

9/3/12	John White alias Robt Green, ca 24	Mulatto man; he belonged to Mr Benj Drew of Smithfield, Va, who sold him to Mr Wm Young nr Richmond Wm Crawford, Union Tavern, Gtwn	\$50
9/3/12	Nancy	Negro woman, formerly the prop of Stanley Hoxton residing in Alexandria; she was raised by Miss Brook of PG Co Jos Costigan, Wash	\$20
12/10/12	Henny Hicks, ca 18	I bought her of Mr Gilbert Docker, Capitol Hill, Wash City; she originally belonged to the est of Notley Young, dec'd & has relatives in Queen Anne Wm Kean	ns
3/18/13	Simon	Negro, lately bought of Mr Scott of PG Co Thos Ewell	\$30
5/6/13	Anthony, ca 28	Negro slave, prop of the late Wm B Page, dec'd Thos Swann, Edmond I Lee, admrs of Wm B Page, decd, Alexandria	\$100
6/28/13	Gusty Hall, ca 19	Negro man, ran away from John Heise, lvg in Gtown John Heise	ns
10/7/13	Sam	Negro, bound to a blacksmith John Threlkeld	\$100
1/18/14	Joe Mason, 28	Negro man; lived for some time with Capt Carson & with Mr O'Neale Ann Ray	ns
2/1/14	Isaac, ca 23	Negro man, runaway from Gtwn College; he was raised at Mrs Johnsons's nr Bryantown, Chas Co Md John McElroy, clk of Gtwn College DC	\$30
7/12/14	John Henry	Black man, formerly belonging to Michl Flanner of this place, his fr lives here Wesley Brown, Alexandria	\$100
7/12/14	Mint, ca 22	Yellow girl, formerly prop of Richd Isaac of PG Co Md Barton Duvall	\$10
8/17/14	Peter, ca 23	Yellow fellow, runaway, slave for life; was owned sometime by Col Enos Newbold from whom he was purchased by Geo W Campbell some 5 yrs ago Thos Sim, Wash City	\$100
10/25/14	John, ca 12	Negro boy Ann Lee, DC Society Hill, nr Gtwn	\$15
11/29/14	Ara, ca 23	Negro woman ran away Thos Claxton	\$8
1/4/15	Stanley Watkins, ca 28	Negro man, absconded from his mtr's svc on Thu Thos Claxton	\$30

1/7/15	John Bradley, ca 35	Negro man Cartwright Tippet, lvg in Wash City	\$50
1/27/15	Sam, ca 16	Mulatto boy, absconded from me in December John Mulloy Capitol Hill	ns
3/25/15	Betsey Innis, with child, Ellen	Indented mulatto; ran away on Mar 23 Alexr Cochrane, First hse east of Bank of the Metropolis, Wash	ns
3/29/15	Mile	Negro man, once belonged to Truman Compton who formerly resided in Wash City Stephen S Johns	\$20
10/13/14	John Dublin	Black man, formerly prop of Robt Sewall Danl M'Keowin	\$10
4/18/15	Mary, ca 24	My Negro woman, ran off April 11; she is a handsome Negro, has a hsbnd lvg in Balt; her mthr lives on the Md track nr Fredericktown John C Thompson, High St, Gtown	\$20
5/11/15	Thomas Herty, ca 14	Eloped from his grdns [?] [Does not say "Negro"] Nicholas Callan, Geo Andrews, Grdns, Wash	ns
5/24/15	Dennis Jenkins, ca 21	Negro, eloped on May 16 Valentine Reintzel, Gtwn	\$50
5/27/15	John Pool, ca 14	Negro boy Mathew Robinson, Alexandria	\$20
6/16/15	Aleck Francis	Dark mulatto slave Richd Bland Lee, Wash City	\$100
8/12/15	Jane	Mulatto woman, absconded on July 9 Lewis H Machen, Wash City	\$50
10/10/15	Nace, ca 22	Negro man Ann Key, nr Gtwn DC	\$30
10/21/15	Lewis	Negro, ran away from S Sommers, nr the little falls chr in Alexandria Co Simon Sommers	\$20
11/21/15	Geo Diggs	Negro boy; his fr belongs to Mr Davidson of Gtown; ran away from the subscriber, lvg in Wash City, on board his schn'r the <i>Rambler</i> Wm R Maddox	\$100
12/19/15	Joshua, 21	Mulatto boy, formerly prop of Wm Hodgson Louis Beeler	\$150; \$25 if taken in Alexandria

2/27/16	Wm Felps	Mulatto boy broke from the Alexandria jail on Jan 30; I purchased him of Wm Brewer of Annapolis about 12 mos since who had hired him to Maj S Clark of Wash & Dr Hall of the army Horo M' Elderry	\$50
6/18/16	Fanny, ca 45	Negro woman; she was harbored by a fellow of Dr Blake's in Wash City, who owned her as his wife Richd Lyles, lvg in Montgomery Co, nr Poolesville	\$10
2/18/17	Betty, 12	Negro girl absconded on Thu I K Hanson, F st Wash City	ns
2/27/17	Sandy	Negro man eloped from plantation of John Osburn, Loudoun Co, on Oct 15; formerly the prop of Abraham Young, dec'd, of Wash City; has a mthr, bros & srs in that neighborhood Balaam Osburn Loudoun Co Va	\$50
3/4/17*	Sam, ca 25	Negro man, blacksmith Bushrod Washington, Mt Vernon	\$50
5/16/17	Ann Blackstone	Mulatto woman, raised in St Mary's Co, Md; formerly belonging to Henry Hill Ilford Van Rissick, nr the Navy Yd, Wash	\$5
5/17/17	Christy Brooks, ca 20	Mulatto woman J Calder, Gtown	\$50
5/17/17	Wm Violet, 26	Negro, an indented servant, who has about 8 yrs to serve. We purchased him last fall of Mr Arthur Latimore, of Chas Co Md John Lyons & Co, Gtown	\$100
7/16/17	John Posey	Negro man, pump maker; he was raised in Chas Co, nr Beentown Md by Mr Miles. I purchased him about 4 years ago. His fr and mthr live nr Beentown, at the widow Boon's Lewis Smith, Gtown	\$50
7/18/17	Monnaca, ca 25	Mulatto woman, ran away on Jun 28 Jane Thornton	\$100
8/14/17	Clem Dausy, Celia his wife, infant boy 6	mos Prop of Chas Cutts, absconded from Wash City on Mon N B Van Zandt	\$100
9/15/17	Ramal	Negro man ran away from Wash City on Jul 9 Sarah Love	\$20
9/16/17	Bill, ca 26	Negro man Francis Fenwick, Gtown	\$50

10/2/17	Charles	Negro, prop of Mr Thos Seemes of PG Co T Hyar & Son, High St Gtown	\$20
10/20/17	Sally Dyson, ca 30; her 4 yrs old dght, Harriet Ann	Mulatto slave absconded from svc of Dr Vowell on Oct 4. She was once the prop of the late Mrs Tabitha Jackson of Nanjemoy, & may have gone to the plantation of Mr Ely Gray. She may have followed her late owner, Eleanor Jackson, bet this & Winchester, Va Jos Mandeville, Alexandria	\$50
11/28/17	Barbara, ca 44	Negro woman, one of the best female cooks in the country, belonging to Mrs Ann Key of DC Thos Plater, Gtown	\$100
4/3/18	Margaret, ca 16	Black girl, purchased of Mr De Butts of Alexandria last winter Israel Little	\$10
4/9/18	Dinah, ca 30	Ran away before under the name of Mell Butler. Reward \$10 if taken up in Piscataway, \$20 if Georgetown, \$30 in Baltimore, \$40 if out of state Ann Dyer	\$10-40
4/22/18	Wm, aged 24	Formerly belonged to Gen John Mason, brought up as a waiter in his family, where his wife resides; his mother lives with Mr McKenney at Gtwn David Porter	\$150
5/20/18	Jane, ca 30	Yellow woman. It is supposed she has gone to Port Tobacco, where her former owners live. She was bought a few mos ago of Gen Stuart, of Wash City, & has been absent for 3 wks John Forsyth	\$20
9/10/18	Jas Thompson, 20	Negro man Thos Crown, nr the Franklin Hotel	\$50
9/12/18	Tilhman Beall, ca 17	Negro. If taken in Balt, Md apply to Mr Jas Beelt, merchant, Fells Point Rachel Pratt, Gtwn	\$50
9/29/18	Daniel, negro boy	Has been working with a Mr Allman, a bricklayer in Wash, boarded nr the Gen PO John Steele	\$20
10/27/18	Ben Gant, betw 30 and 40, alias Hawkins	Negro was bought from Mr Camp, lvg in Benedict, nr Johnson's mill & it is likely that he will go there Jane Docker	ns
1/12/19	Stephen Hawkins, ca 23 & Peter	From farm of Mr Robt Young Brent, in Mont Co; Peter worked in Mr Nicholas Queen's brick yard the last season Patrick Ledand, mgr Liscarroll, Mont Co	\$100

1/13/19	Ambrose, 20	Black man; will probably head north, or to my farm nr Shepherdstown CF Whiting, at Morven, nr Alexandria	\$ 100
4/9/19	Mandebert, ca 15, Frederick, ca 15, Peter Brown	Ran away from Wash City: Mandebert belonging to Mr Lear Fred'k mulatto, belonging to Mr Wirt, Peter Brown, belonging to Jas Smith. B Lincoln Lear	\$300
8/19/19	Ann, ca 16	Runaway negro Betsy G Handy	\$10
9/3/19	Stephen, ca 18	"Black boy" Bridget Meade	\$30
9/14/19	Nancy Hickman	middle aged negro woman For sale: negro woman, good servant; at present eloped Eliza Costigan, nr the Navy Yard	\$10
10/15/19	Levy & Wm Chase	Two negro boys eloped from my possession Saml M Woolfolk, Alexandria	\$50
10/1919	Bill Johnson, ca 24	Mulatto man Adam Lynn, Alexandria	\$100
12/29/19	Joe Washington, ca 21	Negro man Wm Dement, Wash City	\$50
2/16/20	Harry, ca 20	Negro man absconded; 8 stolen silver spoons with the ltr N JB Nickolls, Alexandria	\$ 20 for spoons
3/16/20	Jerry, ca 21	Negro man; went off with a negro man cld Phill belonging to Capt Leonard Mackall of the town Jere W Bronaugh, Gtwn, DC	\$100
4/4/20	Geo, ca 27 Sigismunda, ca 27 their female child, Maria, ca 8 to 9	Goes by the name of Geo Hudson; cld Sissey; They robbed me of \$20, stop watch & clothing Henry Jackson, Alexandria	\$100

4/17/20	Aleck, ca 21	calls himself Alexander Francis, alias Johnson, Mulatto man bought of Richd Bland Lee of Wash City RC Weightman	\$20
4/20/20	Stephen, ca 24	Purchased by me Nov last from Roger Johnson of Frederick Co, Md; Raised in Calvert Co Richd Burgess	\$ 50
5/13/20	Andrew, 20	calls himself Andrew Grant Slave, black man Robt Raymond Reid, at Mrs Peyton's Boarding Hse, C St Wash	\$ 50
9/1/20	Mintey	Runaway colored woman; purchased her of Mr Jas Friend, lvng nr Navy Yd Sept last. She formerly belonged to Maj Forrest, who now owns her husband Wm Thumblert	\$30
9/6/20	Thos Johnson, 18 or 19	Absconded from our service; from St Mary's Co. We have for our part no desire to ever see him, yet, for his sake & as example to others, it is hoped he will be delivered up Gales & Seaton, Wash	\$10
10/7/20	Sam Eaglen, ca 27	Raised in PG Co by Messrs Bealls nr Piscataway, where his mother now lives Abra Jones	\$50
10/19/20	Norval, ca 23	Purchased him from Maj HH Chapman in 1815, who, at that time, resided in Chas Co nr Port Tobacco, Md. I was told he was seen on Sat about the Navy Yd & lodged that night with Betsy Brooke, a free mulatto woman, who has a negro man of Mr Francis Tolson's snr for a husband, by the name of Ned Francis Tolson Jr	\$20
1/24/21		Jo Brown Negro, plasterer by trade, has a wife at Mr Geo C Washington's farm Mary Wingard, Gtwn	\$10
2/14/21	Henson, ca 19	Mulatto boy, on first view might be taken for a white man John Pickrell, Gtwn	\$50
4/21/21	Handy, ca 25	Runaway negro man; has a wife at Mr Newton's, Westmoreland Co, his fr is at Wm Davis' nr Gloucester Crt Hse, & a bro in Richmond City Alexr Somervail, grdn of John M and Wm A Baynham	\$20

5/8/21	Maria Hickman, 11	A bright mulatto, I purchased her of Mrs Costigan, nr the Navy Yd Coyle, So B St Capitol Hill	ns
7/3/21*	Emanuel, ca 26	Dark complexion, brought up as a cook; left my employment on Jun 10 Bushrod Washington, Mt Vernon	\$50
10/12/21*	Geo Frasier, 22, & Ned	Negroes both in employment of Judge Washington who is absent in Phil. Refer to Noblet Herbert, Alexandria Bushrod Washington, jr, nr Mt Vernon	\$100
11/16/21	Wm Hodge, ca 28	Runaway Negro: I purchased him a few days past of Judge Jos Anderson in Wash City John D Moss, Alexandria	\$20
1/11/22	Lewis, ca 17	Negro boy, absconded some time ago; his mother lvg in Washington City & calls herself Johanna Lee AW Preuss	\$10
2/5/22	Matilda, ca 13	Mulatto girl, ran away from Mr Seth Schell of Gtwn Enos Schell, PG Co Md	\$20
2/2/22	Matthew, ca 17	Negro boy, has relations in and nr Gtwn, some belonging to Mr Saml Queen Marsham Bowling, Chas Co, Md	\$50
2/8/22	Henry, ca 30	Negro man Benj G Orr, Wash City	\$50
4/13/22	Luke Henson, ca 29	Negro man Horatio Plant	\$20; \$10 if in DC
5/7/22	Mariah, ca 16	Bought of Mr Josiah White of Loudon Co on Jan 1 last. Apply at Mr Jos Tennison's Hotel, Wash City DC Saml M Spregins	\$50
7/8/22	Jos, ca 22	Negro, has mthr and relations belonging to Mr Thos Fenwick lvg in and about Wash city Chas Hill, Upper Marlborough	\$200
7/8/22	Wesley, 15	Lately lived with Mr John Bailey, nr the Gen PO G David, Bridge St Gtwn	\$20
7/17/22	Sukey, ca 21	Dk mulatto woman slave; her husband, a very young man, is Lloyd Johnson. His parents live at or nr Montg Crt Hse Md where he pretends to be a blacksmith Thos L Orr	\$100
8/17/22	Mary Humphris, ca 17	Negro girl, has a mthr in Queen Ann, lvg at the residence & belonging to the family of the late John Jenkins of that place Sarah Ann Pumphrey	\$30

3/24/23	Winney, ca 33	Absconded yellow woman Horatio Plant, lvng abt 4 mi up the turnpike, n of Wash City	\$10
7/17/23	Drady, ca 18 [see also 8/21]	Runaway negro woman, no doubt with her husband, a free man named Abraham Holly Jeremiah Milburn, residing at the Navy Yd	\$40
7/21/23	Thos Miller, ca 18 or 20	Purchased about 14 mos since of the est of the late HH Chapman, Chas Co Md; his grfr & mthr, I believe, are in the employ of Thos L McKenney Nathl P Causin	\$20
8/21/23	Drady , aged about 18 [see also 7/17] Priscilla, aged about 40	Negro woman; her husband is a free man named Abraham Holly; she was purchased of Mr Wm Evans of Leonardtown, St Mary's Co, also a black woman named Priscilla Jeremiah Milburn, residing at the Navy Yard re Drady. Address the subscriber, c/o Mr Saml Clokey, Wash City. Robt Brown	\$25
10/11/23	Anne and her male child, Henry, ca 30 mos old	Negro women; lived in Gtown, DC, some time with Mr Horatio C Scott. Seen at Wm D Claggett's plantation, where she has a child & other relatives. She was purchased from the heirs of the late Miss Susan Diggs by Mr Edw Scott. She has a free husband, Thos Jackson, Johnson or Richardson [which not recollected]; he is about 50 yrs of age; liberated by the late Mr Dalton Wm Shearlock	\$20
10/17/23	William, ca 17	A dark mulatto, absconded from home during my absence Wm W Seaton	\$20
12/27/23	Henny, 21, and 21- mo old female child	Negro woman, took her child with her Lewis Edwards	\$20
1/1/24	Philip Hutchason, 26 or 27	Known in the Dist as the slave of Mr EW Duvall, from whom I purchased him last spring Jos L Kuhn	\$30
1/17/24	Daphne, ca 41	Raised in Gtown by the family of Mr G French. Has a husband [now in jail] belonging to the est of the late David Peter; calls himself Wm Sock or Stock MA Barclay, G St Wash	\$10
2/25/24	Henny, ca 17	Mulatto girl; d/o Letty, who resides at present on 14th St She formerly belonged to the Greenfield family, beyond the Eastern Branch bridge, but latterly to Cmdor Porter, from who I purchased her on Dec 24 last, after repeated solicitations of her mthr John D Barclay	\$20
3/1/24	Sarah, ca 21	Mulatto; d/o black woman Maria Simpson, who lives in Wash City JA Sommers, Alexandria Co	\$10

3/18/24	Horace Henry, ca 19	“Black boy;” reward cited for “strayed or stolen bay horse” and colt from widow Ann Cadle’s stable. Mrs C has good grounds to suspect Francis Hare, ca 40 Ann Cadle, lvg nr Navy Yd, Wash	\$50
5/8/24	Lewis Dulany, ca 32	Negro man John B Blake, Wash City	\$100
6/14/24	David, ca 35	Negro man; prop of Mrs Sarah Crawford of Gtown, DC Wm Crawford	\$50
6/15/24	Sandy, ca 30	Runaway mulatto man, plasterer by trade Leonard Wall, Gtown DC	\$100
6/30/24	Oscar Brown, ca 18	Mulatto lad Benj Sprigg, Capitol Hill	\$25
9/8/24	Albert, ca 20	Was in the employment of Mr Samuel Dunn of Gtown; cooper by trade Geo C Washington, hse near Rockville	\$50
9/10/24	Rachel Barton, ca 35	Mulatto woman; her former hsbnd was John Barton & lived in Piscataway Zachariah Hazel, Wash	\$20
9/15/24	John Battle, ca 34	Formerly the prop of Jas R Miller & in the employment of Wm Galloway in Wash Deliver at McCandless Tvrn in Gtown. He will probably make for Port Royal, Va, where he has a wife CA Stokes	\$25
10/4/24	Henry, ca 24, Gerrard, ca 18	Negro lads—brothers John S Haw, residing in Gtown	\$100
10/22/24	Nelly, ca 21	Negro girl. Deliver at Eli Leggs’ Tavern, Alexandria, to the subscriber Wm Beckham	\$50
10/23/24	Dinah, ca 55	She has been seen at Mr McGowan’s, opp Mr Williamson’s Tvrn E Guttschlick	\$5
11/2/24	Eliza Fowler, 16*	Indented negro girl; took wearing apparel, etc Stop thief! Dorothy Wailes, Jersey av, bet K and L sts so ns	
11/11/24	Clarissa, ca 22	Left the svc of the subscriber, in whose care she was left; a mulatto girl, a slave for life, formerly the prop of Mrs Sarah Love, dec’d Henry Forrest	ns
1/1/25	Sam, ca 30 aka Sam Joyce or Sam Williams	Mulatto man Richd Ducker	\$50

1/25/25	Isaac Brown, ca 25 or 30	Negro, has a grmther in Wash City, lvng in one of Mr Tippet's hses, the jail kpr Ann Grant, PG Co	\$20
2/5/25	Philip Dorsey, ca. 13	Negro boy; purchased of Geo Calvert, nr Bladensburg, Md Saml J Dawson, Gtown \$25	
3/2/25	Jerry, ca 22	worked much at Anchor Smith's business; professes to belong to the African Bethel Meth [sic] John Davis, of Abel, Wash Navy Yd	\$30
3/25/25 (repeat 8/9)	Rezin, 18 Harry, 16	mulatto brothers purchased of Nathan & JC Dickerson, Mont Co; Chas A Stokes, Gtown	\$200
6/1/25	Chas Minor, ca 37	Negro, bro of Jerry, who is free and lives nr Waterford, Loudoun Co Saml Linday, nr Fairfax CH, Alexandria	\$50
6/21/25	Moses Hutcherson, 23	Absconded negro N M McGregor, Gtown	\$50
7/19/25	Daphne, about 16	"well made" Negro girl T Winn, Wash	\$150
7/21/25	Toby; about 30 calls himself Toby Williams	Negro; has a wife in Wash City and relation in Gtown Henry H Waring	\$100
7/27/25	Bill, ca 38	Negro man Lewin Talburtt, lving nr Eastern Branch Bridge, DC	\$20
7/29/25	Henry, ca 20	Black boy Dennis Johnson, adm of Eliz Tyler	\$40
11/1/25	Lewis & Joe	"black fellows" to George Milburn, Alexandria Va, Wm D Lucas	\$200
2/18/26	Barnard O'Neal, ca 20	"dark mulatto boy"; has been livng with Richd Jones in Gtown for past 10 or 12 years Bennet Sewall, Gtown	\$50
2/21/26	Cele , ca 19	Servant woman [doesn't say "negro"] absconded from my service on Feb 19; last came from Goshen Mills, Montg Co, has a mthr living in Fredericktown Thos McGill, 7th St Wash	\$10
3/14/26	Wm Southerland Bowman, ca 27, his wife Kitty or Cath, ca 20, a child ca 6 mos	Bowman a mulatto; may have taken indented white boy Philip Ferner with them—nick name is Rat, age 17 years Edgar Patterson, Gtown DC	\$150

3/28/26	Ned Branch, 29 Bob Booth, bet 35 and 40	Runaway negro men Robt Leckie, Wash DC	\$200
4/6/26	Polly Quander, ca 24	runaway negro girl Mgt Timberlake	\$20
4/14/26	Peter Bowie, bet 35 and 40	Thos L Offutt, living in Mont Co Md nr Rockville [4/18; Peter Bowie committed to jail, Somerset Co Md; says he belongs to Levi Offord of Montg Co]*	\$100
4/27/26	Henry, 23, and Scye, 35	Broke jail at King St Alexandria, on Tue Geo Milbourn, Alexandria	\$100
6/6/26	Harriet Connor, ca 21	Born nr Piscataway, PG Co, has a bro living w Mr Dent, at or nr Berkeley Springs, Va Ignatius Manning, living nr the upper Eastern Branch Bridge DC	\$30
7/27/26*	Paul, ca 75 or 80 [oldest runaway listed]	Philip Spalding, PG Co	\$5
8/1/26* [famous case]	Gilbert Horton	Committed to jail; says he was born free in NY nr Peakskill Tench Ringgold marshall	
8/22/26	Violetta Graves, 35, and her four children: John, ca 14, Mary, 11; Emma, 9; Chas, 2	Absconded from their owners on Aug 13 R Smith, exc of Mrs Mary Bundy [no address]	\$50
8/24/26	Tom, ca 27	Purchased of the Hon J S Barbour at Culpepper Ct Hse; by trade a blacksmith. Wm Mobley	\$50
9/2/26 [see also Lewis, 1/11/22]	Lisette, 23	eloped negro woman; for some time harbored by her mther, Johanna Lee, a woman freed from the est of the late Peter Savary & living in Wash City. AW Preuss, nr. Broad Crk, PG Co.	\$20
10/5/26	George, ca 20	lived with Mr. D Cheshire in Wash City, as a cartman for last 6 or 7 years past. Can read & write; probable he has a forged pass Newton Keene, agent	\$20
10/17/26	John Clark, ca 14	Mulatto boy Law Hooff Jr, Alexandria	\$10
10/19/26*	John, 21	Mulatto man Geo Mason, Gunston, Fairfax Co	\$100
11/18/26	William, ca 13	“servant”... was in the svc of Mr Hugh Leddy, baker in Alexandria, since 1823. His parents are servants in my employment and we all fear that he may have been enticed away or kidnapped Bernard Hooe, Alexandria	\$10

11/30/26	Paul, age 28 or Polipus Gray	Left my farm on Nov 11 in pretence of visiting his wife living at Mr Henry Compton's Chas Co Md; professes to be a strict Methodist CF Whiting, Moryen, nr Alexandria, DC	\$100
12/2/26	George, ca 20	Mulatto lad Edw Chandler, resident of Gtwn	\$50
12/15/26*	Geo Cole, ca 35	Formerly the body servant of the late Archbishop Neale, & late the prop of the Monastery in Gtwn, where I purchased him, & was permitted to visit his wife, living there, which place he left about 3 wks since Chas Boarman, living nr Martinsburg	\$100
1/12/27	Wm Shorter, ca 35	Mulatto B Mackall, Gtown	\$30
1/24/27	Paul Smallwood, ca 40	Negro John H Baker, Capt Hill, Wash city	\$20
2/6/27	Rebecca Gantt, 22 or 23	Servant woman, eloped Nov last from Francis Dodge in Gtown. Had been in service of Col Jas Thompson of Wash. Can read and write, small stature. May have gone to Baltimore; has connections there belonging to the Donaldsons Chas Perrie	\$50
3/20/27	Davy Moore, ca 40	Negro man; has numerous acquaintances in Pr Wm Co Va and St Mary's Md Robert Brooks, Gtown	\$50
7/23/27	Ned Douglass	Mulatto man, runaway and thief, stole one of my horses Jos Fearson Gtown	\$100
9/1/27	Robert Loyall, 23	A Negro slave, absconded Jul 29 from residence of Cmdor Warrington in Wash City Jas Ord	\$40
9/19/27	Milly, 33, Jerry, 25	Ran away from subscriber, some time in Jul last Milly a black woman, has husband in the city; a fr on the farm of Mr D Kurtz, nr Tennally town; on Aug 22, Jerry, a black fellow, raised by Mr Saml White, nr Mechanicsville, Montg Co, Md Ezl MacDaniel DC	\$10 for woman \$20 for man,
9/20,/27	Lenn Jordan	Negro man; Wn Allen, a near neighbor, left this place on the same day that Lenn did & his son worked with my Negroes for 2 mos previous; probable that Lenn has been taken off by him Wm R Maddox, living in the City	\$10
9/22/27 + 11/5	Maria Marshall, ca 21	Negro woman; may go by the name of Ingram, the name of her husband M Flanagan, near the office of the Natl Intel	\$10

11/13/27	Peter Boston, 24	Negro man Arnold Hurley	\$20
12/5/27	Danl Brown, 23	Negro man, purchased a yr ago from Mr Kirby of PG Co Md Christina Hamilton, nr the Capitol, Wash City	\$50
1/4/28	Jim, 22	Negro, lately the prop of Mr Saml S Hamilton of Wash City, & was brought from St Mary's Co, Md Nathan Smith, 7th St nr The GPO, Wash City	\$50
1/11/28	Chas Galloway, ca 23	Mulatto, has free relations residing on Cap Hill; an uncle nr the Elkridge landing & a fr who resides in Balt City Mary Weems	\$50
2/20/28	Mary Mathews	Runaway slave belong to est of Capt Jas White, dec'd Harriet White, Wash turnpike nr Bladensburg	\$50
5/5/28	Basil, ca 45	Negro, absconded from Geo McCanless tvrn in Gtown, Apr 29. I purchased him of Mr Geo Harben, who lived nr Fort Wash Wash Wallis	\$20
5/13/28	Alexander, 22	Negro man, ran away from my hse in Gtwn May 8 John Laird	\$100
5/26/28	Joe, 26	Negro man, addicted to drinking. Left residence of Mrs Chapman, Gtwn, on May 18 Edw Chapman, for Mary Chapman, admx of HHC, Gtwn	\$50
7/30/28	Bob, 19	Mulatto boy, disappeared on Jul 27 E Brooke, jr Gtwn	\$50
9/26/28	Betsy Adams, with her chldrn Oliver, 13, John, 6, and Laura Juana, 3	Tall yellow woman; "Betsy was in a pregnant state" Alex Ewell	\$50
10/22/28	Andrew Stepen ca 14	Mulatto boy; sometimes called Peter Stepen Saml Kirby on G St n of War Ofc	\$20
1/21/29	Robt Diggs, ca 28	Negro slave who calls himself Robt Diggs, runaway from Parsons shoe shop, Gtwn John E Keech	\$100
1/23/29	Jane, ca. 25	Negro woman; she has been living in Wash about 5 yrs Chas A Clements, M St n bet 19th and 20th sts west	\$10
3/21/29	Parker, ca 12	Mulatto girl, hired by Mrs Cathart sevl mos past, from where she eloped without the least provocation Enoch Arnold	\$5

7/1/29	Lucy Cole, 42	Negro woman, purchased 2 yr since of Mrs Zimmerman, at West End Robert Brockett, Alexandria	\$50
7/24/29	Cornelius, ca 12	Negro boy, purchased 2 mo since of Mr Jos B Hill of PG Co H V Hill, living nr Capitol Bridge, Pa ave, Wash	\$5
10/6/29	Betty, aged about 50 alias Betsy Simmes	Absconded Negro; left without any provocation from the residence of her mistress, Mrs C Hamilton on Capitol Hill. Betty has free relations in Wash & a bro, a free man, who calls himself Wm Fairfax, residing in Alexandria Mrs C Hamilton	\$20
11/23/29	John, ca 20	Negro man ran away from hse of Ansel Rowly on F St. Bought on June 25 last from Mr EB King, as agent for the Monastery, in Gtwn DC Jesse Meek, Gtwn	\$10

(B) Runaways From Washington, D.C., Who Reached Freedom (As Reported by William Still and Thomas Smallwood)

*Name, Age, Companions, Details of Escape,
Slaveholder and Details of Life in Slavery,
Source, page #*

Ball, Joe

Escaped to Phila Nov. 1857. Hired out by Miss Elizabeth Gordon of Alexandria. *Still* 488

Baker

Assisted by Smallwood and Torrey *Smllwd* 37

Ball, Oscar D.

Escaped with Montgomery Graham. Changed name to John Delaney. Enslaved by Miss Elizabeth Gordon of Alexandria *Still* 414

Banks, Jim

29 years old. Escaped with Charles Nole and Perry Clextion. Enslaved by John J. Richards, Georgetown. *Still* 510

Bayne, Richard

Escaped with Carter Dowling and Benjamin Taylor, 1858. Hired out in Alexandria by Rudolph Massey, merchant tailor;

Bell, Susan

Invalid child, aged 4, whose mother had escaped from slavery earlier. Escaped with Mary Jones, 1858. *Still*, 483

Branson, Ramdolph

Aged 31 in 1857. Escaped with George Carroll, John Clagart and William Royan. Enslaved by Richard Reed *Still*, 406

Brown, Stephen

Assisted by Smallwood, who later met him in Toronto *Smllwd* 36

Cary, Harrison

Aged 27. Brother to William Henry Cary. Enslaved by Mrs. Jane Ashley; hired out as bricklayer *Still*, 423

Cary, William Henry

Brother to Harrison Cary. Said to have escaped from Washington DC as a youth. *Still*, 425

Carroll, George

Aged 24 in 1857. Escaped with Randolph Branson, John Clagart, and William Royan; his three brothers had escaped to Canada previously. Enslaved to C.C. Hirara, merchant. *Still*, 406

Chapman, Emeline (aka Susan Bell)

Reported by E.L. Stevens to have left DC 11 July 1858; arrived in Syracuse Lived away from her owner *Still*, 21; 153

Clagart, John

Aged 22 in 1857. Escaped with Randolph Branson, George Carroll, and William Royan. Enslaved by George Colman; lived near Fairfax, Va. *Still*, 407

Clextion, Perry

Aged 25 in 1858. Escaped with Jim Banks and Charles Nole. Hired out by John M. Williams of Gtwn. *Still*, 509

Dade, Henry

Aged 25. Escaped with John Dade from Washington. *Still*, 489

Dade, John H.

Aged 20. Escaped with Henry Dade from Washington *Still, 489*

Derrix, Townsend

Left Alexandria ca. Nov. 1857; escaped with his wife but she was captured and carried back to another owner. Enslaved by German named Gallipappick, in the confectionery business. *Still, 417, 460*

Diggs, Dave

Aged 37. Enslaved by Dr. Josiah Harding of Rockille [sic], Montgomery Co. Waited on six Judges of the Supreme Court when hired out to Mr. Morrison as a waiter. *Still, 487*

Dowling, Carter

Aged 21 in 1858. Left with Richard Bayne and Benjamin Taylor .Escaped from Miss Maria Fitchhugh, owner of 25 slaves. *Still 499*

Jackson, William

ca 50 in 1857. Enslaved by Daniel Minne of Alexandria *Still, 411*

Graham, Montgomery

Ran away with Oscar D. Ball. Enslaved by Miss Elizabeth Gordon of Alexandria *Still, 414.*

Harper, Thomas

Passed through Oswego summer of 1856 with William Triplet. Left wife and 3 children. Hired out his time as a blacksmith. Fled from John Cowling, blacksmith, English by birth, resident of Alexandria. *Still. 417, 428*

Jackson, Rebecca

Aged 37 Arrived with daughter. Enslaved by Mrs. Margaret Dick of Georgetown. *Still, 498*

Johnson, George

ca 25 years old. Runaway notice printed, 22 August 1857; ran away with Thomas Smith from “Kalorama, near Washington DC.” Originally enslaved by a Mr. Conway. Served his widow until her death, when he fell into the hands of Miss Eleanor J. Conway of Baltimore. Hired out. *Still, 430*

Johnson, John

Aged 27 Escaped with Lawrence Thornton [?] from “near Washington.” Enslaved by engraver named William Stone. *Still 448*

Jones, Mary

Arrived from Wash DC 1858. Accompanied by invalid child, Susan Bell, 4 years old, whose mother had escaped to Canada 3 years before. Enslaved by Mrs. Henry Harding, resident of Rockville. Hired out time, and lived at Washington. *Still, 483*

Nole, Charles

Arrival from Georgetown: escaped with Jim Banks and Perry Clextion Enslaved by Blooker W. Hansborough, a farmer. *Still, 509*

Payne, Oscar

Aged 30. Enslaved by Miss Mary Dade of Alexandria. Hired out to Rev. J. P. McGuire at Episcopal High School, Fairfax County. *Still, 486*

Robinson, Josephine

In 1858 had to leave her children, David, Ogden, and Isaiah. Enslaved by Eliza Hambleton, Washington *Still 507.*

Royan, William

Aged 35 in 1857. “Arrival from Washington,” with George Carroll, Randolph Branson, John Clagart. Enslaved by Captain Cunningham. *Still, 407*

Scott, Levi

Assisted by Smallwood, who later met him in Toronto. *Smllwd 36*

Smith, Daniel M’Norton

Enslaved by James Garnett, millwright, Alexandria. *Still 502*

Smith, Josephine

Fled with Susan Stewart from Washington DC. Enslaved by Miss Anna Maria Warren. *Still 531*

Smith, Thomas

Escaped with George Johnson. Enslaved by William Rowe, a bricklayer; hired out to the National Hotel at \$30 a month *Still, 430*

Stewart, Harriet

Aged 29 Came from Washington with her 8 yr. old daughter William A. Linton; Left behind husband John Stewart, a sister enslaved in Georgetown. *Still, 435*

Stewart, Susan

Fled with Josephine Smith from Washington DC. Enslaved by Henry Harley, drover. *Still 531*

Taylor, Benjamin

Aged 20. Escaped with Carter Dowling and Richard Bayne. Fled from Meed estate, Alexandria. In danger of being sold *Still, 500*

Thornton, Lawrence

Aged 23 Referred to in a letter by John Delaney from Oswego, Nov. 1857. Escaped with John Johnson [?] Enslaved by Dr. Isaac Winslow of Alexandria, who defrauded him of his hire, threatened to sell him. *Still, 417, 448*

Triplett, William

Aged 23 to 26 Passed through Oswego with Thomas Harper 1856; runaway notice printed. Enslaved by Mrs. A.B. Fairfax of Alexandria. *Still 417, 427*

Viney, Joseph and family: wife, Susan, and children, Henry, Joe and Tom

Joseph ca. 40 in Nov. 1857. Enslaved by Charles Bryant of Alexandria; wife and children held by Samuel Pattison, Cambridge, Md. *Still, 89–90*

Weems, Ann Maria

Aged 15 in 1855. Escaped Oct. 1855 dressed as a boy, assisted by Jacob Bigelow, “Dr. T” and “Dr. H.” Horse and buggy took her to Phila. Sent on to Lewis Tappan; to family of the Rev. A.N. Freeman in NY, and to Buxton Settlement in Canada. Past three years, held by Charles M. Price, “negro trader” of Rockville, Md. *Still, 174–186*

Whitney, Israel

ca. 36 in 1858 Enslaved by Elijah Money of Alexandria; hired his time at a rate of \$120 pa. *Still, 95*

Williams, Hanson

Aged 40. Escaped with Gusta Young; runaway notice reproduced. Enslaved by Levi Pumphrey, Washington. *Still, 501*

Wood, Moses or Mose

Hired out by General Briscoe of Grgtwn, DC, who defrauded him of his hire *Still, 486*

Woodland, James

Assisted by Smallwood, who later met him in Toronto. *Smllwd 36*

Young, Gusta

ca. 21 or 22. Escaped with Hanson Williams; runaway notice reproduced. Enslaved by Levi Pumphrey, Washington *Still 501*

(C) Fugitives Captured on the *Pearl*

On 19 April 1848, the Washington Daily Union reported that 38 men and boys, 26 women and girls, and 13 children—a total of 77—had been captured on the schooner *Pearl*. The following listing contains 38 men, 24 women, and 12 children: a total of 74. Enslaver's names are in alphabetical order.

Name	Value	Enslaver
Andrew	500	Armistead, Mrs. Susan or Susanna
Caroline (mother of two)	200	ditto
Catherine (child)	200	ditto
Daniel Bell	500	ditto
Eleanor[a] (child)	200	ditto
George Bell	500	ditto
Harriet	200	ditto
John (child)	200	ditto
Mary Bell (mother of two)	200	ditto
Mary Ellen	200	ditto
Thomas (child)	500	ditto
William Thompson		Bamil, James [of Virginia]
William	2–500	Bell, W. [Matilda Ann Beall]
Henry Graham	500	Brereton, Samuel
John Calvert	2–500	Brown, O.B., Pastor of Baptist Church, h: 814 E St NW
Alfred Pope	500	Carter, Col. John, Congressman from South Carolina; h: ss M bet 24 and 25, Georgetown
Jane Brent	2–300	Causin, Nathaniel P., Physician; house: ws 11 bet G and H
Peter Rix	500	Connelly, Thomas, Judge, Orphan's Court
Ellen	300	Corcoran, Emily (Mrs. Thomas); 3119 M St
Perry Grose [Gross]	4–600	Crane, Sarah
Samuel [Edmonson]	800	Culver, Miss [Francis Valdeman]
Richard [Edmonson]	700	ditto

Mary [Edmonson]	2–400	ditto
Ephraim [Edmonson]	700	ditto
John Evans	800	ditto
Emily [Edmonson]	2–400	ditto
Sam	5–600	Dick, Elizabeth, Mrs.
Jane	ditto	[Margaret Laird]
Kitty	ditto	[Margaret Laird]
William	400	ditto
Priscilla King		Dodge, Francis A. [Jr.]
Clarissa (Clara?) (child)		ditto
Drusilla (child)		ditto
John B. Brooke	500	Downing, Joseph [John]
Minney (Mary?) Day	200	Fletcher, Charles
George Shanklin	500	Frozel, Mrs. [John J. Froble]
Philip Crowley	200	Harmon, Wm. [Rachel Harrison]
Madison Pitts	500	Howard, George C.
Frank	5–800	Hoover, Andrew
Joe	5–600	ditto
Daphne Paine (+ child?)	200	Hunter, General [Alexander Hunter]
Madison Young	500	Irwin, Mrs., Alex [of Alabama]
Henry Smallwood	500	Jackson, W.
Augustus Chase	500	King, Vincent
Edward King	500	Kirkwood, W. [John W.]
Hannibal	500	Lisle, Ariana
Nat	600	ditto
Augusta		ditto
Samuel Turner	600	Lyons, Charles
Mary Ellen Steward [Mary, Ellen Ann]	400	Madison, Mrs. D.P. (“Dolly”), Widow of ex-President; h. corner Lafayette Square and H

Plumer Matthews		Mayo, W.
Isaac	5–600	McDaniel, Mrs. Ann
John Rix [Rex]	500	Middleton, Benjamin, ss La. Ave. bet 4 1/2 and 6
Mathew Marshall		Mudd, Ignatius, w s Md Ave. bet 2 and 3
Madison Marshall		ditto
Elizabeth Marshall		ditto
George Craig		Nally, R.B., agent [Elizabeth Lewis]
Louisa Washington (mother)	300	Smith, John H.
Melvina (child)		ditto
Maria (child)	300	ditto
Minina (Minerva?) child	300	ditto
Truman [Neuman]	500	Storm, Leonard
Mary Ann	500	Stull, Col. John J.
Charles [child of Mary Ann]		ditto
John [child of Mary Ann]		ditto
Grace	300	Triplitt, Dr. Thomas
Priscilla Queen		Upperman, William, shop owner, ns Pa betw 4 1/2 and 6 w
Priscilla		ditto
[Harriet]		ditto
Jemima Davis	200	Waters, Mr. [Mary Waters]
Joe Forrest	5–800	Young, John M.
Mary Dodson		Jonathan Y. Young
Mary Letitia [Letha] King	200	ditto
Leonard King	500	ditto

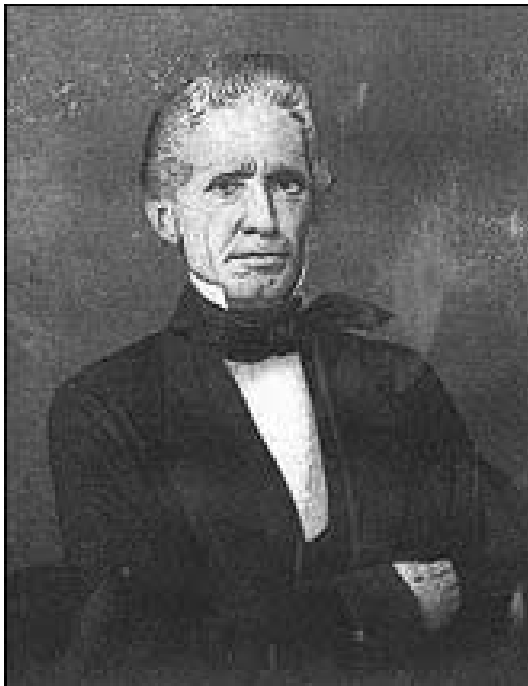
Note: In an indictment, “Ned” is also listed, valued at 800; his enslaver is Henry W. Moncure. He may be listed above, under another name and owner.

A family running away from slavery.
(LC-USZ62-30803)



Anna Maria Weems, c. 1840–?
(Still, *The Underground Railroad*, 1871)

William Still, 1821–1902



Daniel Drayton (*Personal Memoir*)



Emily and Mary Edmonson
(LC-USZ62-104364)

Alfred Pope
(Pamphlet, Georgetown Historic District)

Part IV: Antebellum African American Institutions

(A) Churches

(B) Schools

(C) Benevolent Organizations

Introduction

The following institutions of the antebellum African American community in Washington are likely to have been implicated in the operation of the underground railroad in the city. By and large, these very significant institutions were subversive of chattel slavery, and created the kind of networks upon which runaways and those assisting them depended.

These listings complement Part V: Biographical Sketches, where some more information about certain activist pastors, parishioners, founders, teachers, and benevolent society members can be found. Names that can be found in Part V are marked with italics.

(A) Churches

Though much more scholarly research is required on the topic, secondary sources evidence that antebellum African American churches in Washington provided shelter and support to those escaping from slavery. This is likely to be especially true of those churches led by pastors who were militant abolitionists and “race men” (including John F. Cook, Anthony Bowen, and Sampson H. White). Notwithstanding, Mount Zion AME in Georgetown, one nominally under white leadership, is the one most often identified with the underground railroad in published histories. A vault in nearby Mount Zion cemetery is often stated to be an extant and *in situ* hiding place used by runaways from slavery.¹

The African American churches that follow are listed alphabetically by their antebellum names. The listings encompass, where possible, founding dates, names of their founders and pastors, antebellum addresses, published descriptions of the antebellum buildings, and their current names and addresses. Claims of singular significance and other bits of interesting data are appended. (Sources did not always agree on such data, especially on founding dates.)

Many of these churches resulted from congregational schisms. Several of these originated within African American churches; in other cases, black members of a previously integrated congregation departed because of unequal treatment or because of a slave-owning pastor. The list that follows does not include these integrated Protestant congregations, nor does it encompass Catholic churches in the District where racial proscription and exclusion were not generally practiced.²

A few of the white and integrated churches in the District may well have habitually offered assistance to runaways, though no corroborative evidence to this effect has been discovered. As Constance Green wrote:

Individual members of the white churches in Washington and Georgetown may have helped secretly the Washington station of the underground railway smuggle slaves north to free soil, but, in spite of divided opinion in nearly every congregation, none of the churches officially endorsed abolitionist tactics. Even in Washington’s new Congregational church, organized by New Englanders in 1851, the trustees objected to the label “anti-slavery church.”³

The congregations most likely to have been supportive were those of the Unitarian Church, founded in

1820, the Friends Meeting House, and the Universalist Church. According to one authority, these churches had “...always been opposed to slavery, and never tolerated unchristian treatment of the colored people.”⁴

Notwithstanding, there is little question that the congregations of African American churches stood in the forefront of the battle for abolition and in assisting runaways from slavery. Identifying, locating, and amassing basic information about such churches seemed to be the first priority of a research project that addressed the underground railroad in Washington D.C.

No pre-1860 African American church building appears to be extant in the District of Columbia.⁵ This is not surprising, since these structures could not accommodate the large influxes of African Americans that occurred during the Civil War and thereafter. In many cases, larger church buildings required relocation to a new site. Exceptions included Asbury United, Fifteenth Street Presbyterian, Ebenezer United, and Union Bethel AME (now Metropolitan AME), whose succeeding congregations worship in post-Civil War buildings on antebellum church sites. Two of these churches—Asbury United and Metropolitan AME—are on the National Register of Historic Places.⁶

(B) Schools

African American schools served a very important role in the struggle against slavery and helped to undermine the slavocracy. They were the vehicle that permitted a wider circulation of information about abolition and equality, as well as about direct action to achieve these ends. They imparted skills that permitted people of color to reject the menial stations prescribed for them, and they enabled the forging of the passes and free papers that were important tools of runaways from slavery.

Black schools in the District generated underground railroad activities. At least three teachers—two black and one white—were charged with forging passes and assisting slave escapes: John Prout in 1833, Joseph Farrell (or Ferrell) in 1837, and Daniel (Elijah?) Shay in 1826. Stephen Potter was another such teacher charged in 1818 with forging a pass and assisting an escape, although whether he taught at a black school has not been determined.⁷ (*See court cases*)

That African American schools served seditious and abolitionist purposes was firmly believed by pro-slavery hooligans in Washington in August 1835: a white mob targeted these schools for destruction during rioting known as the Snow Riots or Snow Storm.⁸ Several black schools were “completely ruined,” and nearly all of them were “partially demolished and their furniture destroyed.” Later, schools run by Myrtilla Miner, John Fleet, and Mr. and Mrs. William Fletcher were harassed and assailed — in the two latter cases, the school buildings were destroyed by “incendiaries”.

The antebellum schools that follow are listed alphabetically, including dates of establishment, teachers, addresses, and miscellaneous other data. Sabbath schools established by churches—several by white churches—are not included in this compilation.

(C) Benevolent Societies

It is assumed that African American benevolent and secret societies would have formed ready-made underground railroad networks. No evidence was uncovered that substantiated this surmise, but further research would seem to be warranted into the antebellum activities and membership of organizations described as “the effort of poor people to ameliorate by co-operation and organization their social condition.”⁹

Andrew Hilyer, a District resident and the African American author of this quote continued:

It is difficult to estimate the good these societies do; thoughtful men often ask, what would we do without them? They take up and supplement the work of the churches, inculcate a fraternal spirit, teach a higher and nobler life, and have a general uplifting tendency. They do a great and needful work in caring for their sick members and burying the dead. This is a form of co-operation that has grown out of the necessities of a poor people. That it is well adapted to their peculiar requirements is evident from the number and strength of these Orders. Most of them include women and children, under the patronage of the head organization.

That these organizations were concerned with freeing people and that they were suspected of engaging in illegal conspiracies is revealed in the following quote from Frederick Law Olmsted, who visited Washington in 1855:

Among the Police Reports of the City newspapers, there was lately (April 1855) an account of the apprehension of 24 “genteel colored men”... who had been found by a watchmen assembling privately in the evening, and been lodged in the watch-house. The object of their meeting appears to have been purely benevolent, and, when they were examined before a magistrate in the morning, no evidence was offered, nor does there seem to have been any suspicion that they had any criminal purpose. On searching their persons there were found a Bible, a volume of Seneca’s *Morals*; *Life in Earnest*, the printed Constitution of a Society, the object of which was said to be “to relieve the sick, and bury the dead;” and a subscription paper to purchase the freedom of Eliza Howard, a young woman, whom her owner was willing to sell at \$650. The magistrate, in disposing of the case, was probably actuated by a well-founded dread of secret conspiracies, inquisitions and persecutions. One of the prisoners, a slave named Joseph Jones, he ordered to be flogged; four others, called in the papers free men, and named John E. Bennett, Chester Taylor, George Lee, and Aquila Barton, were sent to the Workhouse, and the remainder, on paying costs of court, and fines, amounting, in the aggregate, to one hundred and eleven dollars, were permitted to range loose again.¹⁰

Within his classified listing of “Colored Mechanics and Business Men Before the Civil War,” Hilyer’s directory also contains a puzzling reference:

A Republican or Civil Rights Shop—Not known when the first shop was opened here for the public, white or colored. For many years, as early as the forties, and probably earlier, there was such a shop on 4 1/2 Street, near Pennsylvania Ave, in the Colonization building. In the early 50s the shop was run by

a Mr. Pollard. The late Mr. Howard Cossley also had such a shop on D Street, above 7th St NW.¹¹

Stanley Harrold, the leading authority on abolitionism in the District, sent the following reply on the subject of the meaning of the quotation from Hilyer:

I'm amazed by the quote concerning "A Republican or Civil Rights Shop"—or shops—maintained by black men before the Civil War. I was not aware that the term "civil rights" was used during the antebellum period and it seems unlikely that "Republican" would be used in this context prior to 1855. I'm surprised as well to learn that white authorities in Washington would have allowed black men to maintain such shops. My guess regarding their function is that they sold antislavery newspapers/literature.

Sources

The most important historical sources for the following compilations were:

- A Congressional publication, "Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia," published in 1871 and authored by M.B. Goodwin (hereafter cited as Goodwin);¹²
- An article by John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History*, 7, 1 (January 1922);
- A chapter entitled "Colored Mechanics and Business Men Before the Civil War" in Andrew F. Hilyer, comp. and ed., *The Twentieth Century Union League Directory. A Compilation of the Efforts of the Colored People of Washington for Social Betterment... A Historical, Biographical, and Statistical Study of Colored Washington...* (Washington, D.C.: Union League, 1901).¹³

Most of the information in the following lists was derived from these sources.¹⁴

Other historical studies that made significant contributions were:

- Thomas Cornell Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia: An Annotated Guide," Ph.D., George Washington University, 1982;
- Nina Honemond Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D.C.* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983);
- Lillian G. Dabney, *The History of Schools for Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1807–1947* (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1949);
- Sandra Fitzpatrick and Maria R. Goodwin, *The Guide to Black Washington*, rev. ed., (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999).

¹ Information on the cemetery is included in (C) “Benevolent Organizations,” under the heading “Female Union Band.” More information on this vault is included in the introductory essay.

² See John W. Cromwell, “The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia,” *Journal of Negro History*, 7, 1 (January 1922), 102–3. Cromwell states “The Catholic Church was free in all of its privileges to all persons regardless of color. This was especially true of St. Patrick’s Church under its founder, Father Matthew, who permitted the poorest Negro to kneel at the altar side by side with the highest personages in the land. The same was observed in St. Aloysius Church and in St. Mary’s Church at Alexandria. The Catholics were the last to change their attitude toward the Negro during the critical antislavery period of the thirties, forties, and fifties, when the Protestant churches practically excluded the Negroes from their Sunday Schools and congregations.”

³ Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capital 1800–1878* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962) 190.

⁴ U S Congress, “Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia” by M.B. Goodwin, (1871), 221 (hereafter cited as Goodwin). The Unitarian Church (at 6th and D) tolled its bell all day to protest the execution of John Brown in December 1859. See James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington’s Destroyed Buildings* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 197; see also Kathleen Trainor, “‘But the Choir Did Not Sing’: How the Civil War Split First Unitarian Church.” *Washington History*, 7, 2 (Fall/Winter 1995–96), 54–70.

⁵ An 1855 church in Alexandria (Alfred Street Baptist) is still standing. Of course, it was built in Virginia, not Alexandria D.C.

⁶ Mount Zion United Methodist Church in Georgetown, whose building and site are post-Civil War, is also on the National Register, as is The Mount Zion Cemetery.

⁷ Stephen Potter was a white man who may have been related to Henry Potter, a white teacher who established a black school in the District in 1809. Census records and published directories investigated do not reveal a connection between them.

⁸ Stanley Harrold, “The Pearl Affair: The Washington Riot of 1848,” *CHS Records*, 50 (1980), 140–60.

⁹ Andrew F. Hilyer, comp. and ed., *The Twentieth Century Union League Directory. A Compilation of the Efforts of the Colored People of Washington for Social Betterment... A Historical, Biographical, and Statistical Study of Colored Washington...* (Washington, D.C.: Union League, 1901), 121

¹⁰ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States In the Years 1853–54* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1904) 16–17.

¹¹ Hilyer, op. cit., 7.

¹² Goodwin sought to prove the injustice and untruthfulness of a “very generally prevailing impression” that “... the colored people of the District before the war had no schools.” He sought to fully substantiate the proposition that they had “...shown themselves capable, to a wonderful degree, of supporting and educating themselves...their history furnishing an example of courage and success in the midst of trial and oppression scarcely equaled in the annals of mankind.” Goodwin, op. cit., 222.

¹³ This chapter includes a survey of antebellum schools by George F.T. Cook, and a pioneering effort to record the early history of secret beneficial and benevolent societies in the District. Hilyer acknowledged, however, that he was disappointed in the apathetic response to the survey he had sent out of the officers of such societies. Hilyer, op. cit., 158

¹⁴ In the following lists, quotations on churches that lack footnotes are derived from Cromwell’s article; quotations on schools that lack footnotes were derived from Goodwin’s study; and unfootnoted data on benevolent societies were derived from Hilyer’s directory.

Antebellum African American Churches

Name/s: *Asbury Methodist Church*

Date Established: 1836

Founders: Parishioners of Foundry Methodist Church dissatisfied with their treatment; Benjamin McCoy was among the activists

Antebellum Address/es: Rented Henry Smothers School House at 14th and H NW [see schools] until property acquired on northeast corner of 11th and K

Description: Frame church built in 1836 in a field bordered by farms owned by three black families; substantial brick edifice replaced it in 1845¹

Pastors: Foundry Methodist Church's (white) pastor was the official pastor of Asbury for over two decades; congregation tried in vain to shed this control. There were two black preachers, one a deacon, one a licentiate, and two exhorters²

Links to Present-day Church: Asbury United Methodist Church, 11th and K, NW, built 1915–16

Other Data: "...The oldest black Methodist church in Washington D.C. to remain on its original site."³ Rev. John F. Cook, founder of 15th St. Presbyterian Church, conducted Sunday School classes

Fifteenth Street Presbyterian, see First Colored Presbyterian

Name/s: *First Colored Baptist Church of the City of Washington*

Date Established: 1839

Founders: African American members of The Baptist Church of Christ in Washington to whom the 19th Street building was sold when the rest of the congregation relocated to 10th street and instituted racially segregated seating. Organized by Sampson White, assisted by John Healy and S.P. Hill, white pastors of Baltimore, and Moses Clayton who founded the first black Baptist Church in Baltimore. Original members included William Bush, Eliza Bush, Lavinia Perry, and Emily Coke

Antebellum Address/es: SW corner of 19th and I

Pastors: Rev. Sampson H. White 1839–41 and c. 1850–53; William Williams, Martin Jenkins, Gustavus Brown, Chauncey A. Leonard

Links to Present-day Church: Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, 4606 16th St NW

Name/s: *First Colored Presbyterian Church, Fifteenth Street Presbyterian*

Date Established: 1842

Antebellum Address/es: 40 members originally worshiped in Cook's schoolhouse (Union Seminary, former Smothers School) at 14th and H, NW; church building erected in 1853 on 15th St. between I and K (rebuilt 1913)

Description: "Small frame school house"

Founders: John F. Cook

Pastors: John F. Cook, William T. Catto, Benjamin T. Tanner

Links to Present-day Church: Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, 1705 15th St. NW

Name/s: *Galbraith Chapel; Galbraith A.M.E.Z. Chapel*

Date Established: 1853 [1859?]

Founders: Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Payne, former congregants of Zion Wesley, assisted by Mr. & Mrs. Bartlett and Rev. D.H.C. Dyson

Antebellum Address/es: L St between 4th and 5th NW (the Payne's house?); house of worship built near New York Avenue

Description: "little frame church"

Pastors: R.H.G. Dyson, formerly active as class leader in Zion Wesley

Links to Present-day Church: Galbraith A.M.E.Z. Church, 1114 6th St. NW, built in the 1880s

Name/s: *Israel Bethel AME Church*

Date Established: 1820

Antebellum Address/es: Parishioners first met in Basil Sim's Rope Walk near 3rd and Pa. SE, then in Mr. Wheat's schoolhouse on Capitol Hill near Va Ave. In 1822, purchased 1st Presbyterian Church at South Capitol and B [Independence] Later built a church on 1st and B SW, which was replaced by another at the same location in 1874

Founders: Parishioners dissatisfied with their treatment at the Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church, including Moses Liverpool, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, William Costin and John F. Cook

Pastors: David Smith, Clayton Durham, John and William Cornish, James A. Shorter, Daniel A. Payne, William Nichols

Links to Present-day Church: Parishioners helped to establish Metropolitan AME Church, completed 1886 at 1518 M St NW; another successor is Israel Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, 557 Randolph St. NW

Other Data: First AME Church in the District, whose founding is described at length in the biography of Reverend David Smith.⁴ George Bell and *Enoch Ambush* operated a large school in the church basement for 32 years.⁵ Pastor William Nichols is said to have been involved with *Charles T. Torrey* in

planning and assisting escapes from slavery. ⁶ Fear of imminent arrest in this connection is said to contributed to his death in 1843

Name/s: *John Wesley Colored Methodist; John Wesley AME Zion*

Date Established: 1847; Church built 1851

Founders: The “little society of nine”, including John Brent, Elizabeth Edmonson Brent, and John William Ingram, former members of Foundry Church, who had joined Asbury 1836 but left because they were dissatisfied with continuing white control” ⁷

Antebellum Address/es: Initially met in John Brent’s home, corner of 18th and L NW; the church was established at 1120 Connecticut Ave. NW, between L and M

Description: “simple frame building;” one-story building with basement; rebuilt 1884

Pastors: Abraham Cole (earlier at Zion Wesley) 1851; Nelson H. Turpin ca. 1853; Rev. Joseph J. Clinton ca 1855; Brazil [Basil] Mackall, ca. 1857; Samson D. Talbot ca. 1860

Links to Present-day Church: John Wesley AME Zion Church, `1615 14th St.; church moved in 1902 and 1913

Other Data: Church used as a school for free blacks, ca. 1855–58; had two teachers and about 150 students; Women’s Aid Society organized by Martha Pennington

Name/s: *“Little Ebenezer” Methodist Episcopal Church*

Date Established: 1838

Founders: Parishioners dissatisfied with their treatment at the Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church.

Antebellum Address/es: 4th and D Sts. SE

Description: Small frame church built; brick church replaced it in 1870

Pastors: White clergy from Ebenezer Methodist Church (now Trinity)

Links to Present-day Church: Ebenezer United Methodist Church, 420 D St. SE

Other Data: Church rebuilt three times; the oldest African American congregation on Capitol Hill

Metropolitan Wesley AME Zion, see Zion Wesley

Name/s: *Mt.Zion Methodist Church(1844); “The Ark;” “The Meeting House”*

Date Established: 1814

Founders: Parishioners left Montgomery Street Methodist Church (now Dumbarton Ave Methodist Church) because they were dissatisfied with their treatment

Antebellum Address/es: On Mill Street (now 27th) near West (now P); the lot was purchased from Henry Foxall

Description: “a small brick building”, remodeled in 1856

Pastors: Served by white preachers from Dumbarton Ave Church; Joseph Cartwright preached there in the antebellum period, though the first black minister was not appointed until 1864

Links to Present-day Church: Church moved to 1334 29th St NW in 1870s, to a site purchased from parishioner Alfred Pope (who had been a fugitive on the *Pearl* in 1848); its cornerstone was laid in 1876 and the church building completed in 1884

Other Data: “The oldest black church in Georgetown and one of the oldest Black churches in the District of Columbia.”⁸ There was a Sabbath school in the church from 1823. Often referred to as a station of the Underground Railroad.⁹ Church register of members from 1830 to 1850 contains references “gone away” “taken away,” “sold south” and “escaped.” As one history put it, “during the long period of slavery in the US, the Mt. Zion Church may have served as a stop on the Underground Railroad. Even though the church records do not officially confirm this, an early church historian Miss Martha Henderson stated in the *Washington Afro American* on November 6, 1848: ‘... if the money the church paid to buy persons from those who would have taken them as slaves and the many other protections the church afforded could be interpreted as proof that it was used as an underground railroad, then the statement is true’”¹⁰

19th Street Baptist: see First Colored Baptist

Name/s: *St. Paul Society, St. Paul Chapel, St. Paul AME Church*

Date Established: 1856

Founders: *Anthony Bowen* and a group of eight other men (including *Enoch Ambush* and *Benjamin Lanham*) who were dissatisfied with a doctrinaire minister at Zion Wesley Church

Antebellum Address/es: Initially congregation met in home of Anthony Bowen, E St SW, between 9th and 10th; church built on 8th St. SW, between D and E

Pastors: George Reed

Links to Present-day Church: St. Paul AME Church, 4901 14th St. NW

Other Data: Sunday evening school established. “St. Paul was a station for the Underground Railroad. Mr. Bowen would meet the escaping slaves at the Potomac River landing at night. They would ...hide in the church”¹¹

Name/s: *Second Colored Baptist Church*

Date Established: 1848

Founders: William Bush, his wife, and three others who withdrew from the First Colored (19th St.) Baptist Church

Antebellum Address/es: Founded in a home at 6th and K NW; moved to broom factory on B St SW, then to rooms over a grocery store at 9th and D NW. Location of “red brick structure” not discovered

Description: a red brick structure (1856–61)

Pastors: H. H. Butler (licentiate); Jeremiah Asher 1849, Gustavus Brown, 1850, H.H. Butler (pastor) 1853, Sandy Alexander 1856

Links to Present-day Church: Second Baptist Church, 816 3rd St NW

Other Data: “This church served as another stop on the Underground Railroad during the Civil War”¹²

Name/s: *Second Colored Wesleyan Church; Union Wesley AME Zion*

Date Established: 1846

Founders: Missionary Gasoway Waters and others dissatisfied with treatment at Mount Zion ME Church in Georgetown

Antebellum Address/es: 23rd St between L and M NW

Description: a frame chapel built ca. 1848; burned and rebuilt as a brick church, designed by Calvin Brent, black architectural student¹³

Pastors: Dr. E.D.W. Jones

Links to Present-day Church: Union Wesley A.M.E. Church, 1860 Michigan Ave. NE

Other Data: “During the struggle against slavery the church building served as an Underground Railroad station for runaway slaves escaping to northern states”¹⁴

Name/s: *Third Colored Baptist*

Date Established: 1858

Founders: Albert Boulden, Michael Meredith, Mrs. Eliza Meredith, Miss Betsy York¹⁵

Antebellum Address/es: Originally met at Boulden’s residence near 4th and L Streets, NW; no church building until 1863

Pastors: Rev. Albert Boulden

Links to Present-day Church: Third Baptist Church, 1546 5th Street NW

Name/s: *Union Bethel AME Church*

Date Established: 1838; recognized by conference 1840

Founders: Members of Israel Bethel AME, including *John F. Cook* and John Freeman, who considered it to be too distant from their homes

Antebellum Address/es: house on L near 15th; then M St between 15th and 16th

Description: small frame building erected 1840

Pastors: Clayton Durham, 1838 William H. Moore 1840; Edward Waters 1842; Adam S. Driver, 1844; Thomas W. Henry, 1847; Alexander W. Wayman, 1848, 1851, 1859; W. H. Moore, 1850; John R. V. Morgan, 1853; Savage L. Hammond, 1854; W. H. Waters, 1856; John J. Herbert, 1857; Michael F. Sluy, 1858; Daniel W. Moore, 1860

Links to Present-day Church: Parishioners helped to establish Metropolitan AME Church, completed 1886 at 1518 M St NW

Union Wesley AME Zion see Second Colored Wesleyan Church

Name/s: *Zion Wesley; Metropolitan Wesley AME Zion*

Date Established: 1833

Founders: Hanson Brooks, Enoch Ambush, Anthony Bowen

Antebellum Address/es: D St between 2nd and 3rd, SW

Pastors: Abraham Cole; Anthony Bowen also preached

Links to Present-day Church: Metropolitan Wesley AME Zion, 712 North Capitol St NW [?]

Other Data: Reportedly the first church building constructed by African Americans in Washington,¹⁶ and also claimed to be “the first independent church in the District of Columbia organized by colored people”¹⁷

Alexandria, D.C.

Name/s: *Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria; First Colored Baptist Church*

Date Established: 1803, moved to own building in 1818

Antebellum Address/es: Alfred Street, Alexandria

Description: Substantial brick structure erected in 1855, replacing church built in 1818

Founders:

Pastors: white

Links to Present-day Church: Alfred St. Baptist Church

Other Data: Congregation organized ca. 1803; had a Sunday School as well as a school in the building (*see Mr. Nuthall's School*)

Name/s: *Davis Chapel; Roberts Chapel*

Date Established: 1830; church building begun but work stopped after Nat Turner Rebellion. Forced to move to present site in 1834

Founders: Organized by former parishioners of Trinity Methodist Church

Antebellum Address/es: South Washington Street, Alexandria

Pastors: Minister in charge was white [Charles A. Davis?], but there were “a number of powerful black preachers and class leaders, including Philip Hamilton, Moses Hepburn, William Wilson, and Israel Bailey”¹⁸

Links to Present-day Church: Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church

Other Data: Had a Sunday School. Said to have been the oldest black church building in Alexandria and “the only black congregation in Alexandria between 1834 and 1850”

¹ Nomination Form, National Register, Asbury United Methodist Church, 1986.

² Cromwell, op.cit., 64–106.

³ Beth L. Savage, ed., *African American Historic Places* (National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., 1994), 130.

⁴ Rev. David Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith of the A. M. E. Church; Being a Complete History, Embracing over Sixty Years' Labor in the Advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom on Earth....* (Repr. 1881 ed., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

⁵ Nomination Form, National Register, Metropolitan AME Church, 1973; Cromwell, op. cit., 70–71.

⁶ Daniel A. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Rev. C.S. Smith, ed.. (Nashville: Publishing House of the A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1891), 38.

⁷ John Brent was born in Maryland. ca. 1810. He won self-hiring privileges from the Virginia planter who was his grandfather, and purchased his own, his father's and his fiancée's freedom. He married Elizabeth Edmonson before his withdrawal from the Asbury Church. He worked as a carpenter, a laborer in the War Department and a waiter. Harold T. Pinkett, *National Church of Zion Methodism: A History of John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church, Washington, D.C.* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1989), 6.

⁸ Nomination From, National Register, Mt. Zion United Methodist Church, 1975.

⁹ Clarke, op. cit., 156.

¹⁰ Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, *A Study of Historical Sites in the District of Columbia of Special Significance to Afro-Americans* (1974), 54–5.

¹¹ Clarke, op. cit., 17.

¹² Clarke, op. cit., 131

¹³ Ibid., 39.

¹⁴ Pickett op. cit., 4; Clarke, op. cit., 40; Charles Blockson states, “In 1862, one the first UGGR stations was established in the church under the pastorate of the Rev. J.W. Anderson.” Charles L. Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide to the Underground Railroad*. (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994) 38.

¹⁵ <www.thirdbaptistchurch.org>, “History Of The Church—The First Hundred Years (1858– 1958).”

¹⁶ Ibid., 4.

¹⁷ Cromwell, op. cit., 83.

¹⁸ Harold W. Hurst, *Alexandria on the Potomac: the Portrait of an Antebellum Community*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 40; Alexandria Black History Resource Center, “Black Historic Sites Walking Tour.”

Antebellum African American Schools in the District of Columbia

Name/s and date/s established:

Enoch Ambush's School, 1833; The Wesleyan Seminary, 1843

Teacher(s):

James Enoch Ambush, to 1865

Address(es):

Located in basement of Israel Bethel Church and at other addresses until 1843, when a "comfortable one-story wooden school house" was built for The Wesleyan Seminary on E St near 10th SW

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Charlotte Beams's School, 1850

Teacher(s):

Beams was a former pupil of Enoch Ambush

Address(es):

Established in a building next to Galbraith Chapel, I St betw 4th and 5th NW

Other Data:

Ambush assisted the establishment of this school, later exclusively for girls.

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Maria Becraft's School, 1820; First Seminary for Colored Girls, 1827

Teacher(s):

Maria Becraft to 1831; Miss Ellen Simonds and others to about 1833

Address(es):

Dumbarton St., Georgetown; 1827 moved to Fayette St., opp. Georgetown Convent

Other Data:

School for girls opened by 15-year-old Maria Becraft, former pupil of Potter and Billings Schools.¹ Father John Van Lommel, Pastor of Holy Trinity Church, offered her in 1827 a larger building and "a higher style of school:" a boarding and day school for about 30 "girls from the best colored families of Georgetown, Washington, Alexandria, and surrounding country." School declined after Becraft entered a Baltimore convent in 1831. She died in 1833.

Name/s and date/s established:

The Bell School,"1807 (*see also Resolute Beneficial Society's School*)

Teacher(s):

Mr. Lowe, a white teacher²

Address(es):

2nd and D SE³

Other Data:

The "first schoolhouse erected for colored children in the District of Columbia" was founded by three ex-slaves George Bell, Nicolas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool.⁴ It announced that no writings were to be done "...by the teachers for a slave, neither directly nor indirectly." The Resolute Beneficial Society established its school in this building in 1818

Bethel Church School see Charles H. Middleton's School

Name/s and date/s established:

Billings School, ca. 1810

Teacher(s):

Mrs. Mary Billings, a widowed English woman⁵, who began by allowing black children to attend her classes in a white school. When white parents objected, she opened her school for black children in Georgetown

Address(es):

Brick house across from the Methodist Church on Dumbarton Ave., between Congress and High streets in Georgetown; moved in about 1821 to H St. near Foundry Church, then owned by Daniel Jones, an African American

Other Data:

Said to be "first colored school in Georgetown;"⁶ later it also had night school, assisted by Mr. Monroe, a government clerk and Presbyterian elder.⁷ May have closed ca. 1823⁸

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Isabella Briscoe's School, ca 1850

Teacher(s):

Isabella Briscoe, "well educated, and one of the best colored teachers in the District"

Address(es):

Montgomery St. near Mount Zion Church, Georgetown

Other Data:

School lasted until about 1861

Name/s and date/s established:

David Brown's School, 1841

Teacher(s):

David Brown

Address(es):

D St. between 1st and 2nd SW

Other Data:

Continued until 1858; Brown then placed in charge of Free Catholic Colored School.

Name/s and date/s established:

Robert Brown's School, ca 1830

Teacher(s):

Robert Brown

Address(es):

Not given

Other Data:

A "small" school; continued at intervals for many years until Brown's death

Columbian Institute, see Smothers School

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Eliza Anne Cook's School, 1854

Teacher(s):

Eliza Anne Cook, a niece of Rev. John F. Cook, former student of Miner's school and a convent in Baltimore.

Address(es):

First opened a school in her mother's house, 16th st between K and L NW; later built a small school house on the same lot

Other Data:

Her school had about 24 to 30 pupils; it lasted until about 1858 when Cook was placed in charge of Female Department of the Free Catholic Colored School

Name/s and date/s established:

Alexander Cornish School, ca 1840

Teacher(s):

Alexander Cornish, succeeded by Richard Stokes in 1846

Address(es):

Cornish's house on D between 3rd and 4th SE; established in Israel Bethel Church in 1846

Other Data:

Continued in the Church for 6 years; had about 150 pupils

Name/s and date/s established:

The Misses Costin's School, 1823

Teacher(s):

Louisa Parke Costin, daughter of William Costin, opened the school at the age of 19. She died suddenly in 1831; the school was reopened by her sister, Martha Costin, ca. 1833

Address(es):

In their father's house on A St. SE, under the shadow of the Capitol

Other Data:

School "not molested" during Snow Riots of 1835; "always under the care of a well-bred and well-educated teacher." Survived 15 years, and was "always very full"

First Seminary for Colored Girls, see Maria Becraft's School

Name/s and date/s established:

Dr. John H. Fleet's School, 1836 and 1846

Teacher(s):

Dr. John H. Fleet

Address(es):

1836: corner of New York Ave. and 14th Street; in 1846 in "Hobbrook Military School building," near corner of N St. and 23rd"⁹

Other Data:

Original school house burned "by an incendiary" in 1843. Fleet taught music for a few years, then opened a large school in the second location in 1846. He gave it up to devote himself to teaching music in about 1851

Name/s and date/s established:

Mr and Mrs. [William H.] Fletcher's School, 1854

Teacher(s):

William Fletcher, an Englishman; his wife owned a variety store that was destroyed "about the time" the school was opened. She then took charge of the girl's department, in a separate room.

Address(es):

Building on I near 22nd NW, where Charles Middleton had kept school; moved to in John Wesley Church, on Connecticut Ave in 1855

Other Data:

The schoolhouse was set on fire and "consumed with all its books and furniture" in 1855; this necessitated the move to John Wesley Church. The Fletchers were "driven from the city" in 1858 "as persecution at that time was particularly violent against all white people who instructed the colored people"

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. George Ford's School, ca 1820s

Teacher(s):

Mrs. George Ford, a white teacher, who "taught there for many years"

Address(es):

Brick house on New Jersey Ave. between K and L NW

Name/s and date/s established:

Free Catholic Colored School, 1858

Teacher(s):

David Brown and Eliza Anne Cook (*see also David Brown's School and Miss Eliza Anne Cook's School*)

Address(es):

Located in old Smothers Schoolhouse for two years, then moved in a house on L between 12th and 13th NW.

Other Data:

The school was under aegis of the priest at St. Matthews¹⁰ and maintained by the St. Vincent de Paul Society. It became a "very large school" with two departments

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. Charlotte Gordon's School

Teacher(s):

Mrs. Charlotte Gordon and her daughter

Address(es):

1846, I St near 11th NW; 1852, New York Avenue near 13th St. NW; 1858, 8th St. near H St NW

Other Data:

Enrollment was about 150 during the latter period. The school was “broken up” at the opening of the Civil War.

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Nancy Grant’s School, ca. 1828

Teacher(s):

Nancy Grant, a “well-educated colored woman,” and sister of Mrs. William Becraft

Address(es):

Georgetown

Other Data:

“A useful school for several years”

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. Anne Maria Hall’s School, 1810¹¹

Teacher(s):

Anna (or Anne) Maria Hall, said to be the “first colored woman teacher in the District”

Address(es):

First St., Capitol Hill, between Old Capitol and Carroll Row; moved to A St and First Bethel Church, then to E St between 11 and 12 SW

Other Data:

Closed ca. 1835

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Fanny Hampton’s School, 1833

Teacher(s):

Fanny Hampton, half-sister of Lindsay Muse

Address(es):

northwest corner of K and 19th NW

Other Data:

“A large school;” closed ca. 1842.

Name/s and date/s established:

Hays's School, 1841

Teacher(s):

Matilda Davis Hays, free woman, and Alexander Hays, ex-slave, freed by lawyer R.S.Coxe in 1843. Thomas Tabbs (former teacher of Alexander Hays) and John McLeod (Irish school master) assisted on occasion

Address(es):

9th Street near New York Ave NW

Other Data:

Matilda Hays opened the school in the house the couple owned before Alexander was free; their school continued to 1857, later offering night classes and music instruction

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Margaret Hill's School, 1840

Teacher(s):

Margaret Hill

Address(es):

Georgetown, "near Miss English's seminary"

Other Data:

"Lasted several years"

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Lucinda Jackson's School, ca. 1851

Teacher(s):

Lucinda Jackson

Address(es):

Capitol Hill

Other Data:

Lasted until about 1860

Name/s and date/s established:

John Thomas Johnson's School, 1843

Teacher(s):

John Thomas Johnson, educated at Smothers School and the Columbian Institute¹²

Address(es):

Johnson built a schoolhouse on 23rd near L St. NW

Other Data:

School began with half dozen pupils and ended with about 200; Johnson “relinquished the work” in 1849

Name/s and date/s established:

Joseph T. Mason’s School, 1840

Teacher(s):

Joseph T. Mason, former pupil at the Columbian Institute

Address(es):

Rear of Mt. Zion Church, Georgetown

Other Data:

Conducted with “more than common system and thoroughness” until Mason “became insane, a year or two before the war”

Name/s and date/s established:

Thomas H. Mason’s School, 1859

Teacher(s):

Thomas H. Mason, cousin to Joseph T. Mason. Thomas Mason was educated by Johnson, Fleet, and Oberlin College; he is said to have been “a very excellent teacher”

Address(es):

Mason’s father’s house on L near 21st NW

Other Data:

School averaged about 100 students

Name/s and date/s established:

Benjamin McCoy’s School, 1833

Teacher(s):

Benjamin McCoy, “colored man;” former pupil of Mrs. Billing and Henry Smothers

Address(es):

L St., between 3rd and 4th NW; moved to Massachusetts Ave., 1834; closed while McCoy was in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, 1836–7, relocated to basement of Asbury Church and adjoining house, 1837–49

Other Data:

“His school gave a respectable rudimental education to multitudes”¹³

Name/s and date/s established:

Charles H. Middleton's School, ca. 1849; Bethel Church School

Teacher(s):

Charles H. Middleton, his wife Margaret Thompson Middleton, Rev. J.V.B. Morgan

Address(es):

Near the corner of 22nd and I NW, in school house previously used by whites; moved temporarily to 16th St NW in 1852, then to basement of Union Bethel Church, on M near 16th

Other Data: The establishment of the school was supported by Jesse E. Dow, council member and candidate for mayor and by the Rev. Mr. Wayman, pastor of the Bethel church. The School was surrendered to the succeeding pastor, Rev. J.V.B. Morgan, "...who conducted the school as part of the means of his livelihood"

Name and date/s established:

Myrtilla Miner Normal School, 1851¹⁴

Teacher(s):

Myrtilla Miner (to 1858), Emily Howland, Emily Edmonson (former *Pearl* fugitive), Lydia B. Mann (sister of Horace Mann,¹⁵ during Miner's absence due to poor health in 1856–57); Helen Moore, Margaret Clapp, Amanda Weaver, Anna H. Searing, and former pupils Matilda Jones and Emma Brown¹⁶

Address(es):

First opened in frame house owned by Edward C. Younger, near 11th st and New York Ave. NW; before the end of 1853, it was relocated to three other sites in NW: F between 18th and 19th, K between 20th and 21st, and on L St, in a building identified as "The Twin Sisters." The Society of Friends, local black leaders, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Gerrit Smith soon bought a permanent site for \$4,300: a three-acre city square bounded by 19th, 20th, N, and O NW

Other Data:

Dedicated to teacher training and a "genteel school for missus of color", Miner's School was only one in the city that offered "above an elementary education."¹⁷ The school was closed in 1860, but reopened under governmental auspices in 1863, incorporated as the Institution for the Education of Colored Youth¹⁸

Name/s and date/s established:

Mr. Nuthall's School, 1828

Teacher(s):

Mr. Nuthall, an Englishman, who moved to Alexandria in 1833

Address(es):

Georgetown: Dumbarton St., then on Montgomery St.

Other Data:

Nuthall was described as "a man of ability, well educated, and one of the best teachers of his time in the

District.” His school may have moved back to Georgetown after 1846 and the school in Alexandria was closed

Name/s and date/s established:

Henry Potter’s School, 1809

Teacher(s):

Henry Potter, Englishman

Address(es):

Brick building on the southeast corner of 7th and F NW, opposite post office; moved to 13th, between G and H, then called Clark’s Row

Other Data:

Henry Potter’s School is said to have existed for “several years” and was “quite large”

Name/s and date/s established:

Resolute Beneficial Society’s School, 1818

Teacher(s):

Its first teacher was a white man, a Mr. Pierpont from Massachusetts; after 2 to 3 years, he was succeeded by John Adams, the “first colored man who taught in the District”¹⁹

Address(es):

Established in Bell Schoolhouse; described as “nr. dwlg of Mrs. Fenwick and Eastern Public School” in 1818 advertisement

Other Data:

The 1818 notice for “A school for the education of free people of color of Washington City” listed the officers: William Costin, Pres, Geo Hicks, VP, Jas Harris, Sec., Geo Bell, Treas. Archibald Johnson, Marshall, Fred Lewis, Chairman of Committee; Isaac Johnson & Scipio Beans, Committee.”²⁰ It included a night school. It closed due to lack of funds by 1822

Name/s and date/s established:

“Round Tops”, ca. 1822

Teacher(s):

Daniel Shay, a white man, former teacher at Billings School

Address(es):

Round Tops Building, “western part of the city”

Other Data:

Shay said to have been sent to jail in 1830 for helping slaves to freedom²¹

Name/s and date/s established:

St. Agnes' Academy, ca. 1851

Teacher(s):

Arabella Jones,²² a former pupil of Mary Billing and St. Frances' Academy at Baltimore

Address(es):

"On the island"²³

Other Data:

"Miss Jones had a good English education, wrote and spoke with ease and propriety the French tongue, was proficient in music and all the useful and ornamental needlework branches." She also wrote poetry that occasionally appeared in the public press, and "...taught with great delight and success, for several years, till better compensation was offered to her for her skill with the needle... In 1857 she was married, and her subsequent life was clouded"

Name/s and date/s established:

Rev. James Shorter's School, ca. 1852

Teacher(s):

Rev. James Shorter

Address(es):

in Israel Bethel Church

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Elizabeth Smith's School, 1843

Teacher(s):

Elizabeth A. Smith

Address(es):

"on the island"

Other Data:

"School for small children"

Name/s and date/s established:

Smothers School, 1822, Columbian Institute, 1825; Union Seminary School, ca. 1833.

Teacher(s):

Henry Smothers, a former pupil of Mrs. Billings; Anne Marie Hall was assistant teacher, 1822–24? John Prout took over building in 1825 and renamed the school the Columbian Institute. Prout was charged with assisting a

slave to escape in March 1833; the school relinquished to John F. Cook, a former pupil, who renamed the school the Union Seminary. Catherine Costin was in charge of the female department at one period. After Cook's death in 1855, the school was continued by his sons

Address(es):

Smothers moved his school from Washington St. Georgetown (opposite the Union Hotel), to H St. near 14th NW in about 1823 and erected a schoolhouse on lot 250; he had dwelling house on this corner.²⁴ In 1858, George F.T. Cook moved the school to the basement of the 15th St. Presbyterian Church, where his father had been pastor

Other Data:

It was a tuition school, for the most part (12 and a half cents a month). John McLeod, "the famous Irish schoolmaster," was "a warm friend of this institution." A large sabbath school was organized here after African Americans were turned out of sabbath schools in Protestant white churches in 1832. The schoolhouse was partially destroyed and the school temporarily closed by the Snow Riots in 1835.²⁵ Cook fled the city. He returned and reopened it in 1836. The Union Seminary said to have had 100–150 pupils and a three-year course of study in later years. Pupils studied composition, the scriptures, reading, recitation, a manual of morals and physiology.²⁶ John F. Cook tried to turn it into a high school in 1841, but did not succeed²⁷

Name/s and date/s established:

Michael Tabbs's School

Teacher(s):

Michael Tabbs was from "a prominent Maryland family"; he was "called insane by some"

Address(es):

Tabbs moved from one location to wherever he could find another: one was at A St. between 7th and 8th SE, another in the Israel Bethel Church; at other times he went from house to house, or taught under a large tree near the Masonic Lodge at the Navy Yard

Other Data:

His school, described as "an institution unto itself;" continued until about 1858

Name/s and date/s established:

Mr. Talbot's School, ca. 1833

Teacher(s):

James Talbot, a white man

Address(es):

Near 13th and K NW, in a private house in the rear of Franklin Row

Other Data:

Continued "a year or two"

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Margaret Thompson's School, ca. 1836

Teacher(s):

Margaret Thompson, who later married Charles Middleton

Address(es):

Wormley Schoolhouse, 1836; 26th nr. Pennsylvania NW, ca. 1846

Other Data:

"A flourishing school of some 40 scholars"

Union Seminary School, see Smothers School

Name/s and date/s established:

Father Van Lommel's School, ca. 1827

Teacher(s):

Father John Van Lommel,²⁸ Catholic Priest and Pastor of Holy Trinity Church

Address(es):

Small frame house near Georgetown College gate, afterwards the residence of widow of Commodore Decatur

Other Data:

School for "colored boys" held three times a week; later "white and black boys were instructed together for no fees"

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. Mary Wall's School, ca. 1824

Teacher(s):

Mary Wall, a Quaker widow from Virginia

Address(es):

house on 15th St ("between residences now owned by Senator Morgan and Representative Hooper"); the schoolroom could accommodate 40 pupils

Other Data:

Her school continued "quite a number of years; "some of the most intelligent and enterprising colored men of Washington owe the best part of their education to this good woman...[including] James Wormley and John Thomas Johnson"

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Annie E. Washington's School, 1857

Teacher(s):

Annie E. Washington, educated by John F. Cook and Miss Miner

Address(es):

In mother's house, on K between 17th and 18th; moved to basement of 19th Street Baptist Church

Other Data:

"A fine select school for the younger classes of pupils"

Wesleyan Seminary, see Enoch Ambush's School

Name/s and date/s established:

Miss Mary Wormley's School, 1830

Teacher(s):

Mary Wormley, sister of William Wormley, who was educated at Colored Female Seminary in Philadelphia. She died ca. 1832 and was replaced by Charles Calvert, "an English gentleman;" William Thomas Lee opened a school "in the same place" in 1834²⁹

Address(es):

The schoolhouse was built by William Wormley on lot 199, near the corner of Vermont and I, "where the restaurant... owned and occupied by his brother [James] now stands"

Other Data:

Lee's School was "in flourishing condition in the fall of 1835 when the Snow mob dispersed it, sacking the schoolhouse and partially destroying it by fire." It was repaired after the riot and occupied "for some time" by Margaret Thompson's school

Alexandria, D.C.

Note: All such schools were ordered to be dispersed after retrocession in 1846.

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. Cameron's School, pre 1812?

Teacher(s):

Mrs. Cameron, a white Virginian

Address(es):

In a house on the corner of Duke and Fairfax

Other Data:

This is said to be the earliest black school in Alexandria though its dates are not known³⁰

Name/s and date/s established:

Joseph Ferrell [Farrell?]'s School

Teacher(s):

Joseph Ferrell

Address(es):

On an alley between Duke and Prince St.

Other Data:

According to Goodwin, Ferrell was "a baker by trade and "a colored man of decided abilities and a leading spirit among the colored people" who was "sent to the penitentiary for assisting some of his race in escaping from bondage" ³¹

Name/s and date/s established:

Free Colored School, 1812

Teacher(s):

Rev. James H. Hanson, white pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church

Address(es):

400 block South Washington Street

Other Data:

School founded by an association of free blacks in the Washington Free School building, part of Alexandria Academy, established in 1785 for indigent students

Name/s and date/s established:

Sylvia Morris's School, mid 1820s

Teacher(s):

Sylvia Morris, free black woman

Address(es):

In her home on Washington Street, near Lancaster school

Other Data:

Ran a primary school for about 20 years; said to have continued until ca. 1846

Name/s and date/s established:

Mr. Nuthall's School, 1833

Teacher(s):

Mr. Nuthall, an Englishman, said to have relocated from Georgetown, and to have returned there to teach after this school closed

Address(es):

In Alfred Street Baptist Church, South Alfred Street

Other Data:

"A thriving school for 2-3 years," strongly opposed and closed by whites

Name/s and date/s established:

Alfred H. Parry's school

Teacher(s):

Alfred H. Parry, who had attended Free Colored School

Address(es):

Last schoolhouse used was between Duke and Wolf, "on a hill known as Mount Hope Academy"

Other Data:

Had a night school, then day school for students of both sexes, including slaves. He "taught for many years;" went to Washington in 1843

Name/s and date/s established:

Mrs. Tutten's School, pre-1812

Teacher(s):

Mrs. Tutten, a white Virginian

Address(es):

Corner of Prince and Pitt

¹ Goodwin stated that Maria Becraft was “the most remarkable young woman in her time in the District, and, perhaps of any time.” Her father, William Becraft, was for many years Chief Steward of the Union Hotel. He had been born free; his mother had been a housekeeper to Charles Carroll of Carrollton. DC Public Library, Georgetown Branch, Peabody Collection, Mary Mitchell Notes on Georgetown’s Black History.

² Hilyer, op. cit., 157.

³ *The Guide to Black Washington* locates the school at 3rd and D., later the site of the Providence Hospital. Fitzpatrick and Goodwin, op.cit., 57. Letitia Brown asserted that the lot on which the schoolhouse was built, deeded by William Prout, was square 825, between K and L and 4th and 5th SE. “Residence Patterns of Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1800–1860,” *CHS Records* (1969–70), 75. Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan states that it was on the square bounded by New Jersey Ave., D and 1st streets SE. *A History of the National Capital*. Vol. 2. (New York: Macmillan, 1914–16), 137.

⁴ These three men were also among the founders of the Israel Bethel AME Church. Franklin and Liverpool worked as caulkers at the Navy Yard. Dorothy Provine states that the Bells were “one of the most important black families in the city.” *District of Columbia. Free Negro Registers 1821–1861*, Vol. 1 (Bowie Heritage Books, 1996), 44, 162; see also Bryan op. cit., 137.

⁵ Mary Billings came from England to the District with her husband Joseph, a cabinetmaker, in 1800. She was widowed in 1807 and taught school to support her family. She died in 1826.

⁶ Hilyer, op. cit., 158.

⁷ Francine Curro Cary, *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 35.

⁸ It has also been claimed that Henry Potter succeeded Billings in her Georgetown school and that “Mr. Shay,” another Englishman, followed him. DC Public Library, Georgetown Branch, Peabody Collection, Mary Mitchell Notes on Georgetown’s Black History; see also Green, *The Secret City*, op.cit., 24.

⁹ The Fleet School house on M St, between 24th and 27th streets in Georgetown, is recorded as the site of the founding meeting of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge. Edward R. Mackay, Sr., “Prince Hall Grand Lodge Celebrates 150th Anniversary,” *Washington History* (Fall/Winter 1998–99), 67.

¹⁰ Green, *The Secret City*, op. cit., 50-51.

¹¹ Hall was from Prince Georges County, Md., a graduate of a predominantly white school in Alexandria. Her husband had died early, leaving her with children to support. Goodwin refers to her as an assistant teacher at Prout’s Columbian Institute (Smothers School). Hilyer and Dabney acknowledge her day school near the Old Capitol.

¹² Goodwin notes that “when the persecution of colored people in the District was raging,” Johnson relocated to Pittsburgh in 1838 “in search of a more tolerant latitude.” “He applied for and won a teaching position in the 1st District school there, beating out two white competitors. He returned to DC in 1843.

¹³ Hilyer, op. cit., 158.

¹⁴ Myrtilla Miner and her school has attracted much scholarly attention, including Druscilla J. Null, “Myrtilla Miner’s ‘School for Colored Girls:’ A Mirror on Antebellum Washington,” *CHS Records*, 52 (1989), 254-68.

¹⁵ Horace Mann directed the defense of Drayton and Sayres, principals charged in the *Pearl* Affair. He was an educator, social reformer, and lawyer who was elected to the House of Representatives from Massachusetts in April 1848.

¹⁶ Emma Brown was also an Oberlin graduate. During the Civil War, she established a school for black children in her home at 3044 P St, where she had lived since 1853. Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, *A Study of Historical Sites in the District of Columbia of Special Significance to Afro-Americans*, 1974.

¹⁷ Jacqueline M Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation’s Capital, 1880-1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 22.

¹⁸ Savage, ed., op. cit., 144.

¹⁹ Hilyer, op.cit., 158.

²⁰ Joan M. Dixon, *National Intelligencer & Washington Advertiser Newspaper Abstracts*, Vol. 5 (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1997), 77.

²¹ Battle, op. cit., 10. It is possible that this case is US v Elijah Shay, heard during the May term 1826 of the District's Circuit Court. Elijah Shay, referred to as a "laborer," was indicted for having forged a pass for "a Negro man named John, property of Major George Peter." The forgery allegedly occurred on 8 December 1825. National Archives, RG 21 E 6, crim apps 56.

²² Constance Green asserts that Jones was a free servant in John Quincy Adams' household and had acquired "an unusually fine education at St. Agnes" in Baltimore. Green, *Washington: Village and Capital*, op.cit., 184.

²³ "The island" was the section of the city cut off by the Washington Canal, which linked Tiber Creek and the Eastern Branch with the Potomac.

²⁴ This house, with an ill Mrs. Smothers in residence, was menaced by the Snow rioters, but defended by Alderman Edward Dyer, who "stood between the house and the mob for her protection." Goodwin, op. cit., 201.

²⁵ Hilyer, op. cit., 158. According to Letitia Brown, "the Smothers Schoolhouse, reputedly erected in 1823, was almost continuously the center of community and educational activity throughout much of the antebellum period. Brown, op. cit., 75-6; see also Provine, op. cit., 155.

²⁶ Green, *The Secret City*, op. cit., 51.

²⁷ Goodwin explained: "There were so few good schools in the city for the colored people at that period that his old patrons would not allow him to shut off the multitude of primary scholars which were depending on his school."

²⁸ Goodwin refers to "Father Vanlomen, a benevolent and devout Catholic priest, then pastor of the Holy Trinity Church." A later reference is to "Father Van Lomell." Goodwin, op.cit, 204, 217.

²⁹ Dabney, op. cit., 7.

³⁰ Goodwin, op. cit., 283-4

³¹ Ibid., 284.

African American Benevolent Organizations

Name: Asbury Aid Society

Founded: ca. 1835

Purpose: Formed to help families displaced by Snow riot; later raised money for the church building and schools¹

Other Data: Connected with Asbury Methodist Church

Name: Columbian Harmony Society

Founded: 1825

Purpose: “To aid each other in infirmity, sickness, disease or accident, and to provide burial after death.” Society bought square no. 475 for \$100 to serve as burying ground known as “Harmonium;” forced to relocate in 1856

Other Data: First officers: President, Francis Datcher Sr., Vice President, William Costin, Secretary, John B. Hutton, Treasurer, William Jackson. George Beall and Joseph Warren said to have been original members. Benjamin McCoy, William Slade, and John F. Cook also likely to have been members.² New burial ground at Rhode Island and 9th NE purchased in 1857

Name: Female Union Band, Georgetown

Founded: 1842 by free black women members of Mount Zion United Methodist Church

Purpose: Pledged to assist one another in sickness and death; membership restricted to women and preference given to female descendants of original founders³

Other Data: Purchased lot 812 for \$250 in October 1842; Joseph Mason’s name was on the deed, in trust for the Society. The Female Union Band Society Burying Ground was adjacent to the old Methodist burying ground (lot 813), a biracial cemetery on property owned by the Montgomery Street (or Dumbarton) Methodist Church.⁴ “A brick retaining vault, located on sloping terrain in the northeastern portion of this cemetery...is said to have been used as a hiding place by the underground railroad”⁵

Name: Free Young Men’s Association

Founded: ca. 1855

Purpose: Burial

Other Data:

Name: Prince Hall Masons

Founded: 1825

Other Data: Social Lodge No. 7, founded in 1825, is said to have been “the first lodge of African Americans below the Mason Dixon line.”⁶ Universal Lodge No. 10 and Felix Lodge No. 17 joined with Social Lodge No. 7 to form the Union Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia (later the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge) in March 1848, in the Fleet School House on M Street between 24th and 27th streets in Georgetown. Charles Datcher was elected Most Worshipful Grand Mason.⁷ Hiram Lodge was organized in 1851: a John F. Cook Lodge and a Charles Datcher Lodge were also in existence⁸

Name: Temperance Society

Founded:

Other Data: Maintained by Union Bethel AME

Name: Union Friendship Lodge of Odd Fellows

Founded: 1846

Other Data: John F. Cook among the founders?⁹

Alexandria, D.C.

Name: Prince Hall Masonic Lodge

Founded: 1845

Other Data

¹ Corrigan, op. cit., 58

² Paul E. Sluby, Sr., *The Columbian Harmony Society: A Brief History* (Washington, D.C.: Columbian Harmony Society, 1976), v.

³ Nomination form, Mount Zion Cemetery, National Register of Historic Places, 1975.

⁴ No fence separated the two cemeteries. Mt. Zion Church officially took custody of the old Methodist burying ground in 1879. Paul E. Sluby, Sr., *The Old Methodist Burial Ground, Georgetown, Washington, D.C. A Section of the Mt. Zion Cemetery as Distinguished from the Adjacent Female Union Band Society Burying Ground Section. An Aboveground Archeological Study...* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 16.

⁵ Ibid., 18–19, 25; see also Corrigan, op. cit., 60; Pauline Gaskins Mitchell, “The History of Mt. Zion United Methodist Church and Mt. Zion Cemetery,” *CHS Records*, 51 (1984), 105, Fitzpatrick and Goodwin, op. cit., 257.

⁶ Edward R. Mackay, Sr., “Prince Hall Grand Lodge Celebrates 150th Anniversary,” *Washington History* (Fall/Winter 1998–99), 67.

⁷ John F. Cook Sr. is claimed to have been “one of the earliest Grand Masters.” Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation’s Capital, 1880–1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999) 29.

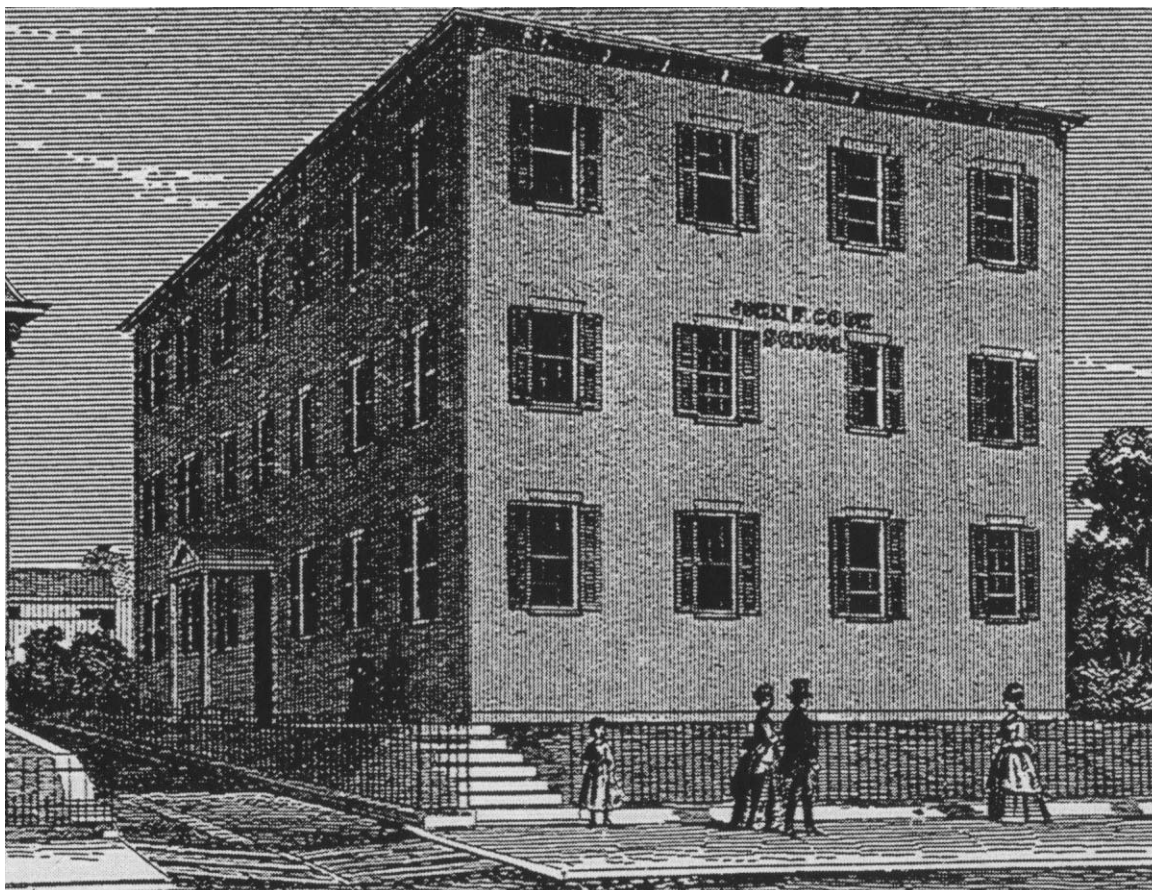
⁸ Hilyer, op. cit., 125.

⁹ Hilyer, op. cit., 127.

African American owned property in Washington in 1862.
City of Magnificent Intentions

Artist's conception,
Israel Bethel AME Church
(Smith, *Climbing Jacob's
Ladder*)

19th Street Baptist Church, purchased by the First
Colored Baptist Church of Washington from a white
congregation. The building served the congregation
until 1975, but no longer stands.



Depiction of John F. Cook's school (Union Seminary)
(Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Cook Family Papers, 20-2)

Part V. Biographical Sketches Relating to the Underground Railroad and the Struggle for Abolition

(A) African American Leaders and Activists

(B) White Activists

Introduction

These biographical sketches, arranged alphabetically, comprise known participants in the operation of the underground railroad in the District as well as those whose participation remains unproven. It includes those locally implicated in abetting escapes from slavery and other illegal activities that subverted the slave system, as well as those involved in the local publication and distribution of antislavery newspapers. It also includes Washington residents who challenged black codes in court, as well as a cross section of African American leaders and community builders.

These courageous people are more likely than others to have been implicated in the underground railroad. Their prominence and dynamism suggest that they had networks of support, together with the drive and concern to work towards improving the lot of African Americans and undermining the antebellum status quo. As such, they may well have attracted the attention of those abetting escapes from slavery and, perhaps, of escapees themselves.

This section is meant to complement Part I: “Circuit Court Records Relating to the Underground Railroad and Abolitionism in the District of Columbia,” and Part III, “Antebellum African American Churches, Schools, and Benevolent Societies in The District of Columbia.” The listings may provide some useful information about key persons, though they provide only a starting point for further research.

The listing groups African American community builders and leaders (A); in another grouping (B) are white residents openly committed to the cause of immediate abolition and equal rights. This division not only seemed to reflect appropriately the distinctive experiences that belonged to each group, but eliminated the need to specify skin color in every entry. In antebellum sources, people of color were often identified as such—as “col” in City directories and assessment rolls, and as “Negro,” “mulatto,” and the like in District Court records. Persons not so classified are assumed to have been white.

This listing is not inclusive. Considerably more research is required to add names—especially those of women activists—to supplement or amend the biographical data provided, and to delete the names of persons who may have done nothing to forward the cause of abolition and the underground railroad.

The listing of white activists does not include all those in Congress who forwarded the cause of abolition. Their biographical sketches can easily be found, along with those of nationally known activists like Theodore Weld (who resided in a Washington boarding house). Further, this listing does not encompass all white Washingtonians who openly declared that they favored the local abolition of slavery in some form or another: over a thousand of them signed a 1828 petition to Congress that supported gradual abolition in the District of Columbia.

Where possible, business and home addresses are provided in these listings. These are not comprehensive, since antebellum city directories overlooked many African American residents. Only a cursory look in District assessment records was accomplished. Most of the addresses are provided in the format used in these directories: more research—in maps, plat books and other sources—will be required to pinpoint exact locations.

Sources

Compiling this biographical listing has been no easy task. While there is a significant body of published research on African Americans in the District of Columbia, much recent scholarship forsakes biographical details and minutiae in favor of demographic data, crunching numbers and discovering patterns. Biographical information had to be teased out of such studies, from M.B. Goodwin's magisterial 1871 report to Congress on the antebellum history of African American schools,¹ John Cromwell's pioneering study of antebellum black churches,² Andrew Hilyer's list of "Colored Mechanics and Business Men Before the Civil War,"³ and from other local histories, court records, city directories, and genealogically oriented volumes like Dorothy S. Provine's *District of Columbia Free Negro Registers 1821–1861*.⁴ Several publications by Stanley C. Harrold were also crucial.⁵ His forthcoming book, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C.*, promises to be an invaluable contribution to the field.

Included in the following biographical sketches are names and characterizations of Washington residents contained in the 1851 publication *A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood (Coloured Man:)...Together with an Account of the Underground Railroad, Written by Himself*.⁶ This unusual memoir, never published in the United States, was written by a complex, passionate and bitter man, an admitted underground railroad conductor in Washington, D.C. His characterizations of his African American associates were often scathing and perhaps libelous: they need not be taken at face value, but may identify opportunities for further research.

The listings also include local African American leaders with whom President Lincoln met on August 14, 1862 as the selection may reflect accurately people who were influential and important in the community.⁷

¹ United States Congress, "Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition and Improvement of Public Schools in the District of Columbia" (1871), 193–300 [cited as Goodwin];

² John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History*, 7, 1 (January 1922), 64–106.

³ Andrew F. Hilyer, comp. and ed., *The Twentieth Century Union League Directory. A Compilation of the Efforts of the Colored People of Washington for Social Betterment... A Historical, Biographical, and Statistical Study of Colored Washington*. (Washington, D.C.: Union League, 1901).

⁴ Dorothy Provine, *District of Columbia Free Negro Registers. 1821–1861* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996). Two volumes have been published: the first comprises two sections (labeled volumes), and the second volume is designated "Volume 3."

⁵ Stanley Harrold publications include "Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1986), Freeing the Weems Family: A New Look at the Underground Railroad," *Civil War History*, 42, 4 (1996), 289–96; and "On the Borders of Slavery and Race: Charles T. Torrey and the Underground Railroad." *Journal of the Early Republic*, 20, 2 (Summer 2000). 273–9.

⁶ *A Narrative of Thomas Smallwood (Coloured Man:)...Together with an Account of the Underground Railroad, Written by Himself*

(Toronto: Printed for the Author by James Stephens, 1851). This book has been recently republished by The Mercury Press in Toronto with editing by Richard Almonte, but it was not available to me. Smallwood's original publication can also be viewed on the internet: <[www: docsouth.unc.edu/neh/smallwood/smallwood.html](http://www.docsouth.unc.edu/neh/smallwood/smallwood.html)>

⁷ This list of names was provided in Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, Vol. 4 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 155.

A. African American Leaders and Activists

Allen, John

With John Prout and Abraham Johnson, Allen was brought before the March 1833 session of the District's Circuit Court for "forging and causing to be forged" freedom papers for an enslaved man and with "aiding and assisting him to escape"

Ambush, (James) Enoch

Teacher and the founder of a school (later called The Wesleyan Seminary); Ambush also helped to found Miss Charlotte Beams's School. He was also associated with a number of churches, including Israel Bethel and St. Paul AME, and is said to have been a founder of Zion Wesley. Though "without school advantages," Ambush "gave much study to botanic medicine" and "became a botanic physician" after closing his school.

Address/es

E St. near 10th SW

Anderson, Harriet

Challenged the curfew laws of the City of Washington in 1830.

Beckett, James

With William Freeman, said to have assisted a group escape from slavery in 1855.¹

Bell, Daniel

Free carpenter, husband of Mary, and father of eight children, all enslaved to Robert and Susanna Armstead of Washington, and whose promised manumissions on Robert's death were under litigation by Armstead heirs. Bell's concern about the outcome of the suit and his family being sold away inspired William L. Chaplin to mastermind the escape on the *Pearl* in April 1848. With Paul Jennings and Samuel Edmonson, Bell is said to have recruited escapees for the voyage.² With his wife, children and grandchild, he was among those captured on board the *Pearl*.³

Bowen, Anthony (ca. 1805–72)

Born in slavery in Prince George's County and came to Washington in 1826. Bowen's manumission was recorded in 1830, when he was 25 years old. He is said to have helped to found the first YMCA for blacks in the United States in 1852.⁴ With Enoch Ambush and a group of freed men,⁵ he founded St. Paul AME Church in October 1856 in his home on E St. SW, where he also established a "Sunday Evening School" in which children and adults learned to read and write. (The Church was later built 8th St. SW, between D and E.) Bowen is said to have been "a local preacher for 40 years." He was also employed by the Federal Government: the 1851 Official Register listed him as working in the Patent Office at a salary of \$547.50 a year,⁶ though the 1853 Washington Directory contained the reference: "Bowen A. col. laborer, s side E S bet 9 and 10 w." Letitia Woods Brown also references a license for Anthony Bowen to operate an "ordinary" or shop.⁷ Bowen's name appears on list of managers of an 1846 fundraising "sitting party" given by Alexander Taverns "for the purpose of purchasing his sister, E.H. Bell of Alexandria."⁸ Many secondary sources attest that he was a conductor of the underground railroad: "The Southwest home of Anthony Bowen, founder of the first YMCA in the District of Columbia [sic], was one of several Washington stations on the Underground Railroad. Bowen often met incoming boats from the South on the 6th Street Wharf on the Potomac River, leading the fugitives to the sanctuary of his residence."⁹

Address/es: ss side E St. SW, between 9th and 10th (85 E St. SW; Bowen's will, recorded in 1871, stated that he owned property in squares 388 and 411.

Bransome, William

Listed in the 1853 city directory a porter in the office of Washington's abolition newspaper, the *National Era*.

Address/es: w side 11 NW bet K and I Streets

Brown, Charles H.

Mounted a legal challenge in 1843 to the city's curfew laws in the District's Circuit Court and lost. Described as a "laborer" in 1853 city directory.

Address/es: n side N St. betw 14 and 15 NW.

Bush, John

Named in Smallwood's account as having facilitating escapes arranged by Smallwood and Charles T. Torrey. Bush's house was used as a "safe house" in November 1843 for two families trying to escape from slavery. Bush and 10 would-be escapees were arrested there by the Washington police; Torrey and Smallwood narrow-

ly escaped capture. Torrey arranged Bush's legal defense by Washington lawyer David A. Hall. He won acquittal.¹⁰

Address/es: home "on low grounds," east of City Hall¹¹

Bush, Lucinda Clark

Wife of William Bush, aunt of Leonard Grimes and (perhaps) a founder of 2nd Baptist Church in Washington. With her husband, she moved to New Bedford and was active in the underground railroad there.¹²

Address/es: see below.

Bush, William

Born free, an uncle of Leonard Grimes, who, after the latter was jailed, was named in a deed of trust dated March 12 1840, as "managing and taking care of his property and affairs, and the maintenance and support of his wife and children." William Bush and his wife helped to found the Second Baptist Church. The couple later moved to New Bedford, where they were very active in the cause of the underground railroad.¹³

Address/es: Owned portions of lots 733 and 734.

Carey, Isaac M.

Carey was one of three members of the Provisional Committee representing the District of Columbia at the Colored People's Convention in Philadelphia in 1831.¹⁴ He was also a seller of perfumery who, in November 1836, contested the City ordinance that restricted the issuing of business licenses to free blacks. His suit was upheld.

Carter, Luke and Sarah

An "obscure couple" relied on by William Chaplin to shelter fugitives.¹⁵

Clark, Cornelius C.

Among local leaders who met with President Lincoln in 1862.¹⁶

Cole, Abraham

A preacher at Zion Wesley Church in the 1840s and at John Wesley AME Zion in 1851. He knew Thomas

Smallwood, a member of the congregation, and was intensely disliked by him. Smallwood sued Cole in 1842 in the District's Circuit Court for \$2000 in damages. The suit asserted that Cole, who "presided as the head" of the "Wesleyan African Society" and "as such much esteemed and confided in by the members of said Society... [and] over which [he] had great influence," had recommended Smallwood's expulsion from the Society and encouraged members not to associate with or do business with him. Thereby, Smallwood charged, Cole had "maliciously and wickedly" ruined his "good name, estate and reputation," and caused him to lose "all the valuable benefits and advantages to him as a member of said Society."¹⁷ Smallwood's memoir contained the following reference to Cole: "I had a controversy with a coloured [sic] man, a preacher, by name Abraham Cole, growing out of a rebuke I gave him in a leaders' meeting, in consequence of his improper walk [?], consequently his friends strove to do me all the injury they could by making use of the most disreputable means to accomplish their object. They would try to make it appear among the respectable portion of my own colour, that I was a great traitor to my race, by circulating the most absurd falsehoods about me; while on the other hand, they would try underhandedly to point me out to the slaveholders as being the man who was aiding in the escape of their slaves..."

Cook, George F.T. (1835–1912)

Son of John F. Cook. He attended Oberlin College, and took over the running of his father's school, the Union Seminary, in 1857.

Cook, John F. (1810?–1855)

Born into slavery; his freedom was purchased by his aunt, Alethia Tanner, in 1826. Cook attended the Columbia Institute and later repaid the cost of his manumission by working as shoemaker's apprentice. From about 1831–33, he worked as a messenger and clerk in the U.S. Land Office;¹⁸ Commissioner Elisha Hayward was said to be much attached to him.¹⁹ Cook was perhaps the most prominent African American activist and "race man" in Washington. He organized Asbury Sunday School in 1829, preached at the Israel African Methodist Episcopal Church in the 1830s, and he helped to found and fundraised on behalf of the Union Bethel Church. He also founded the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in 1841 and became an ordained Presbyterian minister in July 1843: he was officially installed as the pastor of this church on 14 July 1855. As a school activist and teacher, Cook took charge of the Columbian Institute, ca. 1833. He renamed it the Union Seminary and supervised its affairs until his death. Cook was also a founding member of the American Moral Reform Society, active in the Masons and Oddfellows, and in the Negro Convention Movement. From 1833–35, Cook was the Corresponding Secretary of the Committee representing the District of Columbia: he was elected Secretary of the National Negro Convention in 1835.²⁰ He had to flee the city during the Snow Riots or Snow Storm in 1835. M.B. Goodwin states: "The rioters sought, especially, for John

F. Cook, who, however, had seasonably taken from the stable the horse of his friend Mr. Hayward, the Commissioner of the Land Office, an anti-slavery man, and fled precipitously from the city. Mr. Cook went to Columbia, Pennsylvania, opened a school there, and did not venture back to his home until August 1836. During his year's absence he was in charge of a free colored school in Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa., which he surrendered to Benjamin M. McCoy when he came back to his home, Mr. McCoy going there to fill out his engagement.²¹ While in Pennsylvania, Cook is said to have met with radical abolitionists Lewis Tappan and Gerrit Smith. After his return to Washington in August 1836, Cook made frequent visits to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and central New York state, where he met with other abolitionists. He is also said to have "regularly received visits from Chaplin and Tappan during their stays in Washington."²²

Address/es sw corner of 17th and H NW; 1851 sq 198, lot 5, 6

Cook, John F. Jr. (1833–1910)

Son of John F. Cook, born 1835; educated at Union Seminary and at Oberlin College. He took over the running of his father's school, 1855–57. He was among local leaders who met with President Lincoln on August 14, 1862.

Cosley [Cossley], Howard

Said to have had a "civil rights shop" during the antebellum period. Cosley was listed in a 1858 city directory as a barber, in 1860 as a porter.

Address/es: D Street, above 7th St NW ("shop"); 382 15th St NW (home, 1860)²³

Costin, John T.

Probably a son of William Costin; he was one of the managers of the fundraising "sitting party" organized in 1842 to buy a woman out of slavery (see fn 7), and was among local African American leaders who met with President Lincoln in 1862.

Costin, William ("Billy") (1780–1842)

Born free, reputedly one of his grandfathers was a Cherokee chief, another was the father of Martha Washington; Costin's father was enslaved at Mt. Vernon. The Costin family came to Washington after Martha Washington's death.²⁴ For 24 years, he was a messenger or porter for the Bank of Washington; later his portrait is said to have been hung in the building. Costin was the President of the Committee of the Resolute Beneficial Society's School in 1818 and in 1825 was a Vice President of the Columbian Harmony Society. In

1821, Costin refused to obtain the required surety bond for good behavior and carried his appeal to the District's Circuit Court. It ruled that his long residence in Washington (before the existence of the City charter and the bylaw) exempted him from its provisions, but the court allowed the municipality to require surety bonds of African Americans who had come to Washington after the bylaw was passed. Costin is said to have purchased and freed several people, and to have raised four orphans along with his seven children. Two of his daughters, Louisa and Martha, were school teachers. His sudden death on May 31, 1842 was noticed at length in columns of the *National Intelligencer* and in the following discourse by John Quincy Adams: "The late William Costin, though he was not white, was as much respected as any man in the District, and the large concourse of citizens that attended his remains to the grave, as well white as black, was an evidence of the manner in which he was estimated by the citizens of Washington."²⁵

Address/es A St. s fronting Capitol Square (1827); Penn av. s Capitol square (1834)

Datcher, Charles

His name appears on the list of managers of the fund-raising "sitting party" in 1846. He was elected Most Worshipful Grand Mason in 1848; a Masonic "Charles Datcher" Lodge existed in the 1850s.²⁶

Datcher, Francis

Messenger in War Department, feed merchant, original member of 15th St. Presbyterian Church and an officer of the Columbian Harmony Society.

Address/es: I n betw and 15 and 16 w (1834)

Edmonson, Samuel

Worked as a butler in the home of local attorney Joseph H. Bradley: one of 11 enslaved progeny of Paul and Amelia Edmonson. In concert with Paul Jennings and Daniel Bell, Edmonson recruited passengers for the escape on the *Pearl* and went on board himself, along with his enslaved sisters Emily and Mary, and his brothers, Richard and Ephraim.²⁷

Farrell or Ferrell, Joseph (also Feirel and Ferral)

Manumitted in Alexandria in 1833 at the age of 41.²⁸ Goodwin wrote that Joseph Ferrell was "a baker by trade and "a colored man of decided abilities and a leading spirit among the colored people...[who was] sent to the penitentiary for assisting some of his race in escaping from bondage."²⁹ The May term of the District's

Circuit Court in 1837 heard “US v. Negro Joseph Farrell.” he had been indicted on May 7 for forging a certificate of freedom for Mr. T.F. Mason’s slave, Sandy. Farrell pleaded not guilty, but allegedly said nothing in his defense. He was found guilty and sentenced to three years in the penitentiary on 13 May. While serving this sentence, during the October 1837 term of the Court, Farrell was charged with forging a pass for Sam, another slave of Mr. Mason. Farrell was found guilty on October 10, and was sentenced to an additional three years in the penitentiary.³⁰ The *Alexandria Gazette* noted, “the prisoner had been for many years acting as a preacher, and the keeper of a school in the town of Alexandria for the instruction of colored children.”

Address(es): school in an alley between Duke and Prince St.

Fleet, John H. (–1861)

A native of Georgetown who was “greatly assisted in his education by Judge James Morsell,”³¹ Fleet attended Georgetown’s Lancasterian School, the Smothers school and John Prout’s school. He also studied medicine in the office of Dr. Thomas Henderson and by attending medical lectures at “the old Medical College at 10th and E,” apparently under the sponsorship of the Colonization Society. With John F. Cook and Augustus Price, Fleet was a delegate from the District of Columbia at the 5th Annual Meeting of the Convention of the Free People of Color in 1835. He opened a school in 1836; it was burned by arsonists in 1843. He opened a second school in 1846, and gave it up in about 1851 to devote himself to teaching music. He is said to have been a very able musician, as was his wife, Hermoine. “James H. Fleet” was listed prominently as a manager of the fundraising “sitting party” organized in 1842 to buy a woman out of slavery (see fn 7). According to M.B. Goodwin, “He was a refined and polished gentleman, and conceded to be the foremost colored man in culture, in intellectual force, and general influence in the District at that time.”³²

Address/es 1208 30th St NW (Georgetown)

Freeman, William

With James Beckett, said to have assisted a group escape from slavery in 1855.³³

Grant, William B.

Charged with distributing abolitionist literature in 1833. He was involved with the distribution of the June 1833 issue of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and charged with libel during the November 1833 Circuit Court term for publishing “There is neither mercy nor justice for colored people in the district.”

Grimes, Leonard A. (1815–1874)

Born in Leesburg Va., on 9 November 1815, of free parents, Andrew Grimes and Molly Goins, and moved to the District as a boy.. He married Octavia Janet Colson or Colston, a native of the District on 27 May 1833. He worked for a butcher and a druggist, and later as a hackman.³⁴ Carter Woodson wrote that Grimes

...hired himself out to a slaveholder whose confidence he gained. In accompanying his employer in his travels in the remote parts of the South he had an opportunity to see slavery in its worst form and to reach a decision that he would make every effort possible to destroy the evil. Returning to Washington very soon thereafter, he began to express an interest in the operations of the Underground Railroad, in connection with which he rendered valuable service.³⁵

As a hack driver, he apparently aided many escapes from slavery.³⁶ The 1887 sketch published in *Men of Mark* stated:

His relations in the services of slaveholders brought him at times into immediate contact with the painful sufferings of his race; this begot in him a deep hatred for slavery, and he resolved to do all he could to aid the slaves in any attempt they might make to escape from bondage. This disposition was known, and the slave who wished to run away sought Mr. Grimes for advice, which he never failed to give.

In December 1839, Grimes was arrested in Loudoun County, accused of helping an enslaved woman named Patty and her six children to escape to Washington in his hack, from whence they are said to have gone to Canada. At his trial, Grimes was defended by Gen. Walter Jones. The evidence against him was apparently flimsy, and testimonials to his “former good character” were provided by a number of the “most respectable people of Washington”—including Chief Justice William Cranch. Nevertheless, he was convicted 10 March 1840, fined \$100 and sentenced to two years in the state penitentiary in Richmond. Before being jailed, he entered a deed in trust with his uncle, William Bush, for his property at the corner of H and 22nd Streets, and for the care of his wife and children. After completing his sentence, he is said to have returned to Washington, found work as a hackman., and joined the Baptist Faith.³⁷ He moved to new Bedford in 1846, where he entered the ministry. He relocated to Boston in 1848 where he became pastor of the 12th Baptist Church, and where he played a key role in the famous fugitive slave cases of Shadrack, Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns. **Address/es** owned property at H and 22nd streets

Harris, Warner

Accomplice of underground railroad organizer William C. Chaplin.³⁸

Hooper, Henry

Enslaved man charged in the November 1836 Circuit Court Term with taking an enslaved woman named Mary from the city.

Hutton, John B.

Hutton was a “free mulatto,” Secretary of the Columbian Harmony Society in the late 1820s. He was arrested on 12 August 1835, and tried during the November term of the Circuit court on the charge of “keeping and circulating divers tracts, pamphlets, newspapers and other papers...the tendency whereof was to excite misrule, rebellion, riot and disorder...”

Jackson, William

Treasurer of the Columbian Harmony Society in its early period. Jackson was one of three men listed as the District of Columbia’s Provisional Committee at the Colored People’s Convention in Philadelphia in 1831–32.³⁹ He was employed as a messenger in the Post Office, and may be the unidentified “colored man” described in August 1835 as “the principal messenger of our office” who “...used to get a leave of absence every summer to attend the Negro congress at Philadelphia as the Washington delegate.” The writer added: “he has been a great patron of the abolition journals... It is said they found among his papers in writing a speech of his own, delivered at the north or east.” The messenger had “decamped” at the height of the Snow Riots or Snow Storm, as “it seems there was some danger of the mob getting hold of him.”⁴⁰

.Address/es n side I n, betw. 7 and 8.

Jennings, Mary

Challenged curfew laws of city in District Court 1838 and lost.

Jennings, Paul (1799–

With Daniel Bell and Samuel Edmonson, Jennings was involved with organizing the escape on the *Pearl*, though he did not mastermind the plot as a result of a chance meeting with Daniel Drayton, as sometimes

claimed.⁴¹ At the last minute, Jennings reportedly decided not to board the schooner because his manumission was imminent. He had been born in slavery on President James Madison's estate, later serving Madison as his "body servant." Jennings was purchased for \$120 by Senator Daniel Webster in 1847, who manumitted him on the proviso that Jennings "worked out" the purchase expenditure at the rate of \$8 a month.

Address/es: three addresses on L street NW, variously located between 2nd and 19th, two addresses on 11th NW, two on 14th st., and one at 1209 New York Ave.⁴²

Johnson, Abraham

With John Prout and John Allen, Johnson was brought before the March 1833 session of the District's Circuit Court for "forging and causing to be forged" freedom papers for an enslaved man named Joseph Dosier, and with "aiding and assisting him to escape."

Lanham, Benjamin

One of the founders of St. Paul AME Church.⁴³ Smallwood claimed that Benjamin Lannum [sic] "attended to the fugitives that I had concealed from time to time," and that on one occasion three escapees—two men and a woman—were left at Lanham's "dwelling" and in his charge. Smallwood asserted that Lanham was paid \$30 for this service, but that he betrayed the runaways to "Williams, the slave trader."

Larned, Joseph

Indicted for forging a certificate of freedom in 1833.

Lee, George

Lee initially worked with Smallwood as an underground railroad conductor; he was "...appointed to conduct [escaping slaves] to the first place of deposit." Smallwood claimed to have arranged the escape of Lee's wife and children from a slaveholder named Bill Gunnel in August 1842. Smallwood characterized Lee as a "polished villain;" he "...turned out to be both swindler and traitor for he went about among the slaves collecting money in my name from them, appropriating it to his own use, telling them that I would send them off at such and such times, without my having any knowledge of the fact."⁴⁴ Smallwood related a turgid account of how money he had held to assist two escapees hiding "in a stable loft" had been obtained by Lee, who afterwards betrayed them to slave catchers. Lee is said to have spread the tale that it was Smallwood who had done this. There may have been another "George Lee" in the city, or the same person may have been among the 24 "gen-

teel colored men” apprehended by the police in April 1855 for “assembling privately in the evening,” and one of four sent to the workhouse.⁴⁵

Lee, William Thomas

A teacher who fled the city with John F. Cook and William Wormley during the Snow riots in 1835. He had taken over Mary Wormley’s School in 1834, one particularly targeted by the white mob.

McCoy, Benjamin

Former student of Mary Billings and Henry Smothers who opened a Sunday School, c. 1832, and a school for black children in 1833. He left Washington in the autumn of 1836 to finish John F. Cook’s engagement in the free public colored school in Lancaster Co., Pa. McCoy returned to Washington in 1837 and opened a school in the Asbury Church and in the adjoining house.⁴⁶ He was on the building Committee of Asbury Church, and was among local black leaders who met with President Lincoln on August 14, 1862.

Address/es: Owned property on squares 526, 555, and 526.

Middleton, Charles H.

Teacher, free born in Savannah, Ga, who came to Washington after the Mexican war. He was associated with the first movement for a free colored public school in the city championed by Jesse E. Dow, who, in 1848 and 1849 was a leading member of the Common Council and a candidate for Mayor in 1850. Dow encouraged Middleton to start his school in 1849.⁴⁷

Muse, Lindsay

Born in Northumberland Co., Va.; bought sister out of slavery. He was a messenger for the Secretary of the Navy, 1828–83, and a leader in the 19th St. Baptist Church. With Benjamin McCoy, he helped to lead and organize first Sunday School organized by African Americans in Smothers Schoolhouse c. 1832.⁴⁸

Address/es: Owned lots 19, 20 and 21 in Square 5

Nicholas, Lloyd

Challenged the curfew laws of the city in 1839 and lost.

Nichols, William (–1843)

A preacher of the Israel Bethel AME Church, who, according to Daniel Payne's *History of the AME Church* "...was one of the persons who aided the martyred Torrey [sic] in covering the escape of many slaves from the District of Columbia to their asylum in Canada West. Soon after the arrest of Torrey he accidentally learned that he was known to be in connection with him, and it is supposed the fear of being arrested was so great as to induce the paralysis which lead to his rather sudden death on the 20th of September, 1843." (In fact, Torrey was arrested in 1844, though he had a close call with the police in the fall of 1843.) Nichols's death is mentioned by Smallwood, who did not view him in a positive light:

William Nichols, a preacher of the African M. E. Church, was sick on his death bed (though he did not, I presume, suppose himself so near death's door) and I called to see him, and while there I communicated to him some of the circumstances connected with the capture of those people, which he twisted into a wicked falsehood, and as I have been informed, died with it on his lips, that I betrayed those persons, and that lie was the only testimony he left of his acceptance with God; a poor one indeed.⁴⁹

Payne, Daniel (1811–93)

Born in Charleston, SC of free parents. He joined the AME Church in Philadelphia in 1841, was appointed to a traveling ministry, and came to Israel Bethel Church in 1842. There he helped to build pews, and organized a Colored Pastors' Association, which originally had two other members: John F. Cook and Rev. L. Collins of the AME Zion Church.⁵⁰ Payne's proposals for a school for young preachers caused controversy: they were allegedly made "in the face of prejudice against an educated ministry."⁵¹ Payne is noted as a friend and ally of underground railroad organizer Charles Torrey, whose monument in Mount Auburn cemetery was visited by Payne in 1850.⁵² Notwithstanding, Smallwood referred to Payne negatively, in connection with the alleged falsehood uttered by Nichols on his deathbed (see above): "Mr. Paine [sic], a preacher of the same denomination as Nichols, and at that time stationed at Washington, became the devil's pack-horse, and bore the falsehood to [Philadelphia].⁵³ Payne attended the General Conference of the AME Church there in May 1844. He was transferred to Baltimore in 1845, and later achieved illustrious heights: he was elected Bishop of the Church in 1852. He founded Wilberforce University in 1856 and served as its president for 13 years.

Pollard, Robert

Said to have run a "civil rights shop" in the Colonization building in the early 1850s. In an 1860 city directory he was listed as a waiter; a 1853 directory lists Pollard, _____ [blank], col. porter at Gadsby's Hotel.

Address/es: shop; 4 1/2 Street, near Pennsylvania Ave, h. 358 15th NW (1860)

Price, Augustus

Raised and educated at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage in Tennessee, Price went with President Jackson to Washington in the 1820s, becoming his trusted servant and private secretary. He was active in the Negro Convention movement in 1835, serving as Vice President of the District of Columbia's delegation. Andrew Hilyer stated that Price studied medicine "...but never entered upon the regular practice, probably they could not secure the necessary permit or license."⁵⁴

Prout, John W.

Teacher who ran the "Columbia Institute" in the Smothers Schoolhouse ca. 1825–34. Prout presided at "large and very respectable" gathering at the AME church in 1831 that reaffirmed a rejection of the Colonization Society's program and formally declared that "the soil that gave us birth is our only true and veritable home." Prout was corresponding secretary in the Washington D.C. delegation at the 1832 National Negro Convention.⁵⁵ He was charged in 1833 in the Circuit court with forging freedom papers and giving a pass to a slave. He was fined \$50. His school was taken over by John F. Cook soon after.

Smallwood, Elizabeth.

Born free in Virginia; married Thomas Smallwood in 1836.⁵⁶ She took in washing from Mrs. Paget's Boarding House, and arranged the meeting between boarder Charles T. Torrey and her husband in 1842. Smallwood describes her as an underground railroad activist: their home sheltered runaways on at least one occasion. With her husband and children, she moved to Toronto in October 1843.⁵⁷

Smallwood, Thomas

Born in slavery Prince George's County, Md., 22 Feb. 1801; he wrote in his 1851 memoir that by the age of 30 he had worked out the \$500 paid for him by the Reverend J.B. Ferguson.⁵⁸ Smallwood initially backed African Colonization but opposed it by 1830. In Washington, he made his living as a shoemaker, and was a member of the Zion Wesley Church, where he clashed with the Reverend Abraham Cole and sued him in Circuit Court for damages in 1842.⁵⁹ Smallwood stated that Charles Torrey came to his attention when the latter was jailed in Annapolis for disrupting a slaveholders meeting. A meeting between them was arranged through Elizabeth, Smallwood's wife; they soon joined forces to arrange many escapes from slavery, including a group of 15 in August 1842 and "12 or 13" others three or four weeks later. Smallwood claimed to have been "...the sole proprietor of the so-called underground railroad in that section, it having been started without the assistance of any earthly being save Torry [sic], myself, my wife, and the Lady with whom he boarded." In

Torrey's absence (in Albany) from August 1842 –43, Smallwood was in charge of operations. Between March and November of 1842, he estimated that the "Washington branch" of the UGRR had helped as many as 150 runaways. (Many traveled through Philadelphia to Troy and Albany, New York, and on to Toronto, Canada.) Smallwood described the *modus operandi*:

We had two places of deposit between Washington and Mason's and Dixon's line [sic]. The distance between Washington and the first was thirty-seven miles, the second was forty miles from the first; over these our passengers generally traveled in two nights... the third night they cross the line, and accomplish a distance of nine miles into Philadelphia, to another place of deposit... If we had women and children to convey, we had to hire conveyances at the rate of from fifteen to fifty dollars to the first place of deposit... We had to pay teamsters a very high price in order to induce them to risk themselves and teams in so dangerous an enterprise...

Smallwood noted that assembly points were chosen the night before a departure "on the suburbs of the city," each unique to each venture. Would-be runaways were warned to approach it either singly or in groups of no more than two, and from different directions. Smallwood's narrative relates a couple hair-raising escapes from the police for himself and Torrey, including an occasion when police visited his house and narrowly missed capturing a "slave woman" who was being concealed there. Smallwood named other African Americans in the District who were implicated in his underground railroad work, but he denounced most of them as villains, swindlers and traitors. He reserved his praise for Torrey, his friend "G" in Baltimore, Thomas Garrett, a white abolitionist in Wilmington, Delaware, Messrs. Croker, Thomson and Latimore of Albany, NY, and Washington resident John Bush. In the fall of 1843, Smallwood and Torrey narrowly escaped being arrested at John Bush's home. Smallwood and his family left for Toronto soon after, where he published his memoir in 1851.

Address/es "a large house on the outskirts of Washington"⁶⁰

Smith, Rev. David

Born into slavery near Baltimore and manumitted at the age of 12. Smith was ordained minister of the AME Church and assigned to the District of Columbia ca. 1820, where he helped to found Israel Bethel AME Church. Smith described this founding in some detail in his 1881 memoir.⁶¹

Address/es: In 1827 directory, dwelling "near St. Peter's Church, Ds Capitol Hill"; Smith described as "(col) pastor of the African Church"

Snow, Beverly

The owner (with W. Walker, "a colored man") of the Epicurean Eating House, where the Snow Riot or Snow Storm started in 1835. The immediate trigger was the supposedly derogatory remarks Snow had made about

the wives of mechanics at Navy Yard (in the wake of the arrest of Dr. Reuben Crandall and an attempted attack by a slave on Mrs. William Thornton.) The mob ransacked and looted the restaurant; Snow fled the city. As Goodwin put it, “Snow... with difficulty escaped unharmed, though the management of white friends, taking refuge in Canada, where he still resides.”⁶²

Address/es: (business) 6th and Pennsylvania NW

Steward, Henry

Charged with distributing abolitionist literature during September 1833 Court term

Tanner, Alethia Browning

Said to have been a housemaid of Thomas Jefferson during his presidency. She bought her freedom in 1810 and later purchased and freed 64 members of her family, including her nephew, John F. Cook.⁶³

Thomas, Edward M.

Among local black leaders who met with President Lincoln on August 14, 1862.

Vincent, Alexander

Indicted for giving a pass to a slave during the November 1836 term of the Circuit Court

Walker, Henry

Operated an eatery where visiting black abolitionist, Jehiel C. Beman stopped in August 1844. (He later ran the National Eating House on Pennsylvania Avenue.)⁶⁴

Address/es: (business) 18th, between I and K

Waring, Arthur

With Isaac Carey and William Jackson, Waring was a member of the Provisional Committee representing the District of Columbia at the Colored People’s Convention in Philadelphia in 1831. He was named Vice-President for the District for the 1833 Convention.

White, Sampson H.

Came to Washington from Petersburg and Norfolk in 1839. He was the organizer and pastor of the First Colored (19th Street) Baptist Church, 1839–41, and is said to have been a militant abolitionist.⁶⁵ White was admitted as a “corresponding member” of the National Negro Convention in 1855.⁶⁶

Williams, Abraham

Driver for W.L. Brent, Clerk of the Circuit Court, who was indicted for helped a female slave of Brent’s to escape during the Circuit Court’s May term, 1826.

Wormley, James A. (1819–

Born free in 1819 in the District, brother of William and Mary Wormley, who attended Mary Wall’s school. He became a wealthy businessman, starting in the livery business progressing to catering and to restaurant and hotel ownership.⁶⁷ He was an activist for equal rights in the post-Civil War period, and perhaps before.

Wormley, William

Born free; brother of James, who owned a successful livery business and financed a school run by his sister, Mary. He served as Vice President of the District of Columbia’s Provisional Committee at the National Negro Convention in Philadelphia in 1831.⁶⁸ He was charged with being an agent for procuring subscribers to Garrison’s *Liberator* during the November term of the Circuit Court. Wormley fled the City during the Snow Riot.⁶⁹ M.B. Goodwin charted his steep decline: “William Wormley was at that time a man of wealth... one of the most enterprising and influential colored man of Washington. His livery stable, which occupied the place where the Owen Hotel now stands, was one of the largest and the best in the city. [Around 1835] William was ... the original agent of the *Liberator* newspaper for this District. The mob being determined to lay hold of him and [Thomas] Lee, teacher in his sister’s school, they fled from the city to save their lives. ...The persecution of William Wormley was so violent and persistent that his health and spirits sank under its effects, his business was broken up, and he died a poor man, scarcely owning a shelter for his lying couch.”

Address/es: residence on I St between 15th and 16th NW.

B. White Abolitionist Activists in the District of Columbia

Bailey, Gamaliel (1807–1859)

Born in New Jersey, a graduate in medicine and world traveler, who became an abolitionist newspaper editor in Cincinnati 1836–46, where his press was mobbed three times. He was chosen by Lewis Tappan to become editor-in-chief of the weekly *National Era* when the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society decided to publish a national periodical in Washington. He served as editor from January 1847 until his death in 1859. Bailey bravely stood up to a mob threatening to destroy his press in April 1848, after the capture of the Pearl fugitives. He did not support slave rescue, believing that it encouraged violence, and argued that illegal undertakings brought antislavery into disrepute and hampered progress towards peaceful emancipation. He criticized Chaplin in 1850, but visited him in jail, worked diligently for release of others, and assisted efforts to buy people out of slavery. The *National Era* and Bailey are said to have exerted “a wide moral and political influence for the Anti-Slavery movement.”⁷⁰ Margaret L. Bailey, his wife, was also influential. She launched a monthly newspaper, *The Friend of Youth*, in 1850 to teach readers to “sympathize with the oppressed and weep with the suffering.” An account in it of the escape of a woman with her child over the ice on the Ohio River was read by Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose cataclysmic novel made its first appearance in serial form in the *National Era*.

Address/es: Residence on E. St. corner of 8th, opposite old Land office; National Era Office moved from east side 7th St., near corner of F (opposite Patent office); moved in Dec. 1848 to west side of 7th opposite old Odd Fellows Hall.

Bigelow, Jacob (1790–)

Massachusetts-born lawyer (first cousin of the famous physician and botanist by the same name). Bigelow settled in Washington in 1843; in the 1850s, he was described as “an elderly widower living alone.” He worked as a Congressional reporter and as a founder and director of the Washington Gas Light Company, 1848–50.⁷¹ He was an AMA agent, an advocate of establishing an antislavery church in the capital, and an active abettor of fugitive slaves. In these endeavors, he collaborated with Washington resident Ezra L. Stevens, William Still of Philadelphia’s Vigilant Committee, and Lewis Tappan of New York. All three were among those involved in planning the escape from slavery in 1855 of 15-year old Anne Marie Weems, who dressed as a male carriage driver in transit from Washington to Philadelphia. That year, Bigelow adopted the name “William Penn” in underground railroad correspondence with Still. Several letters between them were published in Still’s 1872 book *The Underground Railroad*, which characterized Bigelow as “the capable conductor of the Underground Rail Road in Washington.”⁷² Bigelow’s nephew testified that his uncle had been “general manager of the

Underground Railway from Washington to Philadelphia...” and that he was “...frequently approached by decoy negroes seeking to entrap him.”⁷³

Address/es: upstairs office and bedroom on E at the corner 7th NW, opposite the General Post Office.

Boyd, William

An abolitionist who tried to help a couple escape from slavery in November 1859. It is said that he “inflamed fears of abolitionists among District whites,” and that he was “captured four weeks after John Brown’s abortive raid at Harper’s Ferry” and that he “inflamed fears of abolitionists among District whites.”⁷⁴

Chandler, Elizabeth M. (1807–34)

Quaker poet from Delaware; Benjamin Lundy’s Washington-based assistant for the publication the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, ca. 1830–32.⁷⁵

Chaplin, William A. (c. 1795–1871)

Massachusetts-born abolitionist with close ties to the New York or radical political wing of the Liberty party, and an active members of the Albany Vigilance Committee before he came to Washington in 1845. He succeeded Charles Turner Torrey as correspondent and editor of the *Albany Patriot* and as an organizer of underground railroad activities. With Gerrit Smith’s financial backing, Chaplin assisted a number of escapes from slavery in the District, forging extraordinary coalitions that included “an obscure black couple named Luke and Sarah Carter and the famous white couple John and Peggy O’Neale Eaton.”⁷⁶ Chaplin made arrangements through abolitionists in Philadelphia to hire coastal trader Daniel Drayton to take a large group of enslaved people from Washington (“the Pearl Affair”) in April 1848, but his role in the mass escape was not revealed or discovered.⁷⁷ In August 1850, Chaplin was captured by police and jailed after a gun battle just across the Maryland line while driving a carriage with two fugitives towards Pennsylvania. Chaplin jumped his \$19,000 bail, contributed mostly by Gerrit Smith and Washington lawyer David A. Hall. He returned to New York and ceased his underground railroad and abolitionist activities. One of Gerrit Smith’s biographers wrongly charged that Chaplin “gave himself up to long-continued misconduct with a lady of questionable morals.”⁷⁸

Clephane, Lewis (1824–1897)

Born in Washington DC; became clerk and business manager of the *National Era*, 1847–59. He drove Daniel Drayton and Edward Sayres out of Washington on their release from jail in 1852. He also organized National

Republican Association in 1855.⁷⁹

Address/es: ss G betw. 11 and 12 NW (1850)

Conway, Moncure D. (1832–1907)

Virginia-born radical minister of the First Unitarian Church, 6th and D, 1855–56, whose anti-slavery views caused his dismissal by vote of the congregation; he was 21 years old at the time.⁸⁰

Coxe, Mr. and Mrs. Richard

Lawyer Richard S. Coxe was on Reuben Crandall's defense team. His wife is said to have "...organized a large colored Sabbath school in her own parlor, and maintained it for a long period, with the co-operation of Mr. Coxe and the daughters." According to M.B. Goodwin, this occurred "when the colored people were driven from the churches, in the years of the mobs..." Mrs. Coxe also encouraged the school of Alexander Hays, who had been a slave in her family until he purchased his freedom⁸¹

Address/es: s side E betw. 6 and 7 NW (1834); 8 4 1/2 st. (1858)

Crandall, Reuben (1805–1838)

Born in Connecticut, brother of abolitionist Prudence Crandall. He studied medicine at Yale and was a passionate botanist. He moved to Georgetown from New York state in May 1835 at the request of a patient.

Crandall was not an active abolitionist, but was found with a number of anti-slavery tracts in his possession; on one of these was hand-written, "Read and circulate." Crandall was arrested and charged with publishing and circulating incendiary and libelous materials. His arrest and rumors that surrounded it was part of the background to the white mob violence (the Snow Storm or Snow Riots) that erupted in the fall of 1835.

Crandall came to trial during the March 1836 session of the Circuit Court, with Judge Buckner Thruston presiding. Crandall was prosecuted by Francis Scott Key and defended by Joseph H. Bradley and Richard S. Coxe. Though Crandall had initially made statements after his arrest that supported the abolition of slavery, his defense team argued that he was not sympathetic to it and had tried to break up his sister's school. The jury found Crandall not guilty. He had contracted tuberculosis in jail, and died soon after.⁸²

Dow, Jesse E.

A City alderman who originated first movement for a "free colored public school" in 1848 and 1849. He was a "leading and influential member of the common council [who] encouraged Mr. Middleton to start his school, assuring him that he would give all his influence to the establishment of free schools for colored as well as

white children.” In 1850 Dow was among the losing candidates for mayor. His views were assailed during the campaign, but he did not hesitate to “boldly avow his opinions,” and to declare that “he wished no support for any office which demanded of him any modification of these convictions.”

Dyer, Charles V.

Engaged subscription agents for the *National Era*, Washington’s abolitionist weekly.

French, Benjamin B.

Came to Washington from New Hampshire in 1833; businessman and lobbyist who was among those “...who, in most instances, would not violate proslavery laws but who would provide services in ventures that could...involve illegal operations.”⁸³

Giddings, Joshua R. (1795–1864)

Born in Pennsylvania; elected to the 25th Congress in 1838 from Ohio’s Western Reserve. He was forced to resign briefly because of his support for the Amistad captives, but was immediately re-elected and served until 1858. He was a radical Republican and determined abolitionist who denounced slavery in the District of Columbia and raised questions about the wrongful imprisonment of free blacks in the District jail in 1843. Giddings may have known about the Pearl Affair ahead of time; in the aftermath, he spoke out in favor of the captives and visited them in jail, putting himself in great danger of mob violence.⁸⁴

Address/es: Mrs. Sprigg’s boarding house, Carroll Row, Capitol Hill (site of Library of Congress), 1839–ca. 1849; Mrs. Lamb’s boarding house, ss Pa ave, betw. 14 and 15th w (1850).

Goodloe, Daniel R.

Became editor of the *National Era* after Bailey’s death in 1859.

Hall, David A. (1795–1870)

Practiced law in Washington from the 1820s and owned a large quantity of real estate.⁸⁵ He is said to have purchased and freed many slaves.⁸⁶ He was hired by Charles T. Torrey to defend underground railroad activist John Bush, arrested for assisting escapes in November 1843, and won the acquittal. Hall provided a considerable amount of the bail money required for William Chaplin in 1850. He also represented local free blacks who were threatened with enslavement: he was a witness to the signature of William Jones, a free Virginian

imprisoned in the District, who petitioned Congress in December 1843.

Address/es: 7 w betw. D and E. , 1827; the nw corner of C and 3rd NW (1858).⁸⁷

Jacobs, Thomas

President of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Improving the Condition of People of Color, formed in 1827.

Janney, Samuel M. (1801–80)

Member of a Quaker family in Alexandria who established a network for the circulation of antislavery publications in Virginia. In 1827 Janney was Corresponding Secretary of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Improving the Condition of People of Color.

Address/es: St. Asaph near Prince St., Alexandria (1834)

Johnson, John

Described as a “laborer” [not as a “Negro”], who was charged during the March 1836 term of the Circuit Court with forging a certificate of freedom that assisted a successful escape from slavery.

Lundy, Benjamin (1789–1839)

Born in New Jersey to Quaker parents. Lundy began publishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821. He moved from Tennessee to Baltimore in 1824, where he was persecuted and threatened with imprisonment. In 1830, he relocated the newspaper to Washington, where he had been previously active. He wrote in his memoir:

While there, I had a sharp controversy with several editors, and was freely threatened by some individuals, but the authorities were more friendly to me than in Baltimore. We organized a respectable anti-slavery society in the District of Columbia, and, at one time, obtained the signatures of more than eleven hundred of the inhabitants to petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery there.

Lundy also arranged to have a meeting of The American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery take place in Washington and he was active in the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for improving the Condition of People of Color. Washington became only the nominal place of publication for his paper: he traveled a great deal to obtain subscriptions and arranged for printing to be done in several places. Amos Gilbert and Elizabeth M. Chandler were his Washington-based assistants. In April 1832, Lundy received a letter from a friend in

Washington: “He informs me that the Grand Jury have made out a bill of indictment against me; that the Marshall has been in search of me; that the spirit of opposition to every thing like emancipation runs high; that the Abolition Society has not met for some time; that consternation prevailed everywhere, at the period of the Southampton [Nat Turner] insurrection.” Lundy departed for Texas, via New Orleans, not long after. Publication was suspended from May to October, and in 1832 the paper was published in Philadelphia.⁸⁸

McLeod, John

Irish schoolteacher whose schoolhouse was the site of local Abolition Society meetings in the late 1820s. McLeod supported the Columbian Institute and occasionally taught at the Hayes School. In September 1828, the first meeting of the African Slave Abolition Society was held at “Mr. John McLeod’s Schoolhouse.”⁸⁹

Address/es: (schoolhouse) F St. NW, formerly occupied by the Sisters of Charity; school was later on the ne corner of H and 9th

Miner, Myrtilla (1815–64)

Born in Madison Co., N.Y., Miner came to Washington in the autumn of 1851 to establish a school for black women and met with ferocious and sometimes violent opposition. Because of it, the school moved to three different locations before Gerrit Smith, Harriet Beecher Stowe and others helped her to buy a site in 1854. Miner lived there with Emily Edmonson, former fugitive on the *Pearl*, and wrote to a friend:

Emily and I lived here alone, unprotected, except by God, the rowdies occasionally stoning our house at evening, and we nightly retiring in the expectation that the house would be fired before morning....Since then our high hard-to-get-over picket fence has been built. Emily and I have been seen practicing shooting with a pistol, the family have come, and a dog with them, and we have been left in the most profound peace.

Miner’s health failed by the late 1850s. Her life has inspired a number of biographical studies.⁹⁰

Address/es: 3 acres bounded by 19th, 20th, N and O sts NW

Padget, Mrs.

Landlady of Charles T. Torrey in 1842; Smallwood claimed that she was an underground railroad activist: “Be it spoken to the praise of the lady with whom he boarded, that she and my wife were the only assistance we had for some time in the execution of our plans.”⁹¹ Her home is said to have been used to harbor escapees.

Address/es: east side of 13th between E and F, near E, NW

Ratcliffe, Daniel

Virginia-born attorney employed by abolitionists on behalf of William L. Chaplin and Warner Harris.⁹²

Shay, Daniel [Elijah?]

A former teacher at Billings School who established a school in the Round Tops Building in the “western part of the city.” Shay is said to have been sent to jail in 1830 for helping slaves to freedom.⁹³ This case may be “US v Elijah Shay” in the Circuit Court’s May 1826 term. Elijah Shay, a “laborer,” was indicted for having forged a pass for “a Negro man named John, property of Major George Peter.” The forgery allegedly occurred on 8 December 1825. Elijah Shay pleaded guilty; he was imprisoned for six months and fined \$10.

Snethen, Worthington Garrettson.

A local lawyer who compiled *The Black Code of the District of Columbia, in Force September 1st, 1848* in “a calculated move to further the cause of local abolition.”⁹⁴ It was published in New York by the American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1848.

Sprigg, Ann G. (nee Thornton) (c.1799–1870)

Born in Virginia, widow of former Congressional clerk Benjamin Sprigg, who ran a boarding house on Capitol Hill where numerous antislavery Congressmen and activists resided, including Joshua Giddings, Seth Gates, William Slade, Abraham Lincoln (1848), Theodore Weld and Joshua Leavitt. Hired slaves are known to have worked at Mrs. Sprigg’s boarding house, among them a cook named Robert and a waiter named John Douglass. Both were helped to escape from Washington in 1842 by Charles T. Torrey and Thomas Smallwood.⁹⁵ Evidence of Mrs. Sprigg’s antislavery activities is said to be contained in the Giddings Papers.⁹⁶ **Address/es:** Carroll Row, e side 1, between East Capitol and A SE (1843); in 1850s several addresses given for Mrs. Sprigg’s boarding house: 349 E; s side C between 3 and 4 1/2 NW; 58 Missouri Ave.

Steiner, Jane

A “spinster” charged with “assisting and advising” woman slave to escape in September 1836.

Stevens, Ezra L.

AMA agent who helped runaways from slavery, working with (among others) Jacob Bigelow, William Still of

the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, and Lewis Tappan of New York. Some 1857 and 1858 correspondence between Stevens and Still was published in the latter's book, which referred to Stevens's "love of humanity and impartial freedom." Stevens arrived in Washington in 1848 and worked for an antislavery newspaper published in Cleveland and as a clerk in the Interior Department. He joined with Bigelow's attempt to establish an antislavery church in Washington. He was involved in planning the escape through the District of Ann Marie Weems and others.

Address/es: Duff Green's Row, Capitol Hill

Torrey, Charles Turner (1813–1846)

Born in Massachusetts, educated at Phillips Academy, Yale, and Andover Theological Seminary. Torrey organized the biracial Boston Vigilance Committee. He had helped to put together the Liberty Party and was affiliated with its radical New York wing. He moved to Washington from Albany in December 1841 to become editor and Washington correspondent of the *Albany Patriot*. He arrested and jailed briefly for disrupting a proslavery meeting in Annapolis, Md., in January 1842, coming to Thomas Smallwood's attention thereby. In Washington, Torrey attended only black churches. With the financial backing of radical abolitionist Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, Torrey organized numerous escapes from slavery: by his estimate, about 400. His early collaborators were his landlady, Mrs. Padgett, and Smallwood and his wife, Elizabeth. Torrey returned to Albany for over a year from August 1842, where he and local white abolitionist Abel Brown organized the Albany Vigilance Committee. Moved to Baltimore in early 1844, and made a series of forays to abet escapes in Virginia and Maryland. He was arrested and convicted in December 1844 of assisting the escape of three slaves from William Heckrotte of Baltimore. He died an antislavery martyr in Maryland Penitentiary on May 9 1846. His monument in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass., became a place of pilgrimage.⁹⁷

Address/es: Mrs. Padgett's Boarding House, east side 13th betw. E and F NW, 1841–2,

Warden, John

During the June 1820 term of the Circuit Court, evidence was gathered to charge Warden with forging papers "purporting to be free papers for slaves, & selling them as such, on or about the 19th of April last."

¹ Nellie Arnold Plummer, *Out of the Depths or the Triumph of the Cross*. (Orig. publ. 1927, New York: G.K. Hall, 1997), 48–49.

² Bell was identified by Drayton's defense team as the person who had proposed the escape voyage. Stanley Harrold, "Allies Against Slavery: Interracial Co-operation and the Pearl Conspiracy of 1848," Paper delivered at DC Studies Conference, November 2000.

³ See Mary Kay Ricks, "Escape on the Pearl," *Washington Post*, 12 August 1998, H01, H-4-5; Dorothy Provine, *District of Columbia Free Negro Registers. 1821–1861*, Vol. 1 (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996) 279. See also Catherine M. Hanchett,

“What Sort of People & Families...” The Edmonson Sisters.” *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1982), 22–3; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded...* (Repr. 1853 ed., N.Y.: Arno Press, 1968), 310–11.

⁴ Provine, op.cit., 185. Mary Elizabeth Corrigan, “A Social Union of Heart and Effort: the African-American Family in the District of Columbia on the Eve of Emancipation,” Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1996, 61; Sandra Fitzpatrick and Maria R. Goodwin, *The Guide to Black Washington* (Rev. ed. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999)144–5; Jacqueline M. Moore, *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation’s Capital, 1880–1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999)172; Nina Honemond Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D.C.* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983) 16, Beth L.Savage, *African American Historic Places* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994) 133.

⁵ The other founders were Carroll Bailey, Moses Briscoe, Cabb Delaney, George Newman, Benjamin Lanhan, and three brothers: Henry Ward, George Ward, and Cato Ward.

⁶ According to M.B. Goodwin, Bowen was “for many years an estimable employee in the Department of the Interior.” op. cit., 219.

⁷ Letitia Woods Brown, *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790–1846* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1972), 76n.

⁸ Other managers of this event listed on its advertisement were William Slade, Thomas Clark, J.T. Johnson, Andrew Foote, John Freeman, Charles Shorter, James A. Shorter, David Fisher, Charles Datcher, John T. Costin, Rev. S.S. Clark, and James H. Fleet. Historical Society of Washington, D.C., MS244, Alexander Taverns Papers.

⁹ Fitzpatrick and Goodwin, op. cit., 45; Charles L. Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide to the Underground Railroad* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994), 35; Shaw Ad-Hoc Coalition to Save the Anthony Bowen “Y”, *A Community Response...* [Washington, D.C.] : the Coalition, [1982?], 1.

¹⁰ Smallwood, op. cit., 39–40; Harrold, “On the Borders of Slavery and Race,” op. cit. 274.

¹¹ Harrold, “On the Borders of Slavery and Race,” op. cit., 279.

¹² Research by Kathryn Grover, author of *The Fugitive’s Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

¹³ Provine, op. cit., 153. Clarke, op. cit., 94n: “In 1848, William Bush, his wife and three others withdrew from the 19th St. Baptist Church and formed the Second Baptist Church.”

¹⁴ The two others were William Jackson and Arthur Waring. Howard Holman Bell, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions 1830–1864* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 25; see also Provine, op. cit., 326.

¹⁵ Harrold, “Freeing the Weems Family,” op. cit., 295; Provine, op. cit., Vol. 2, 451, 497.

¹⁶ Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 4, 155.

¹⁷ National Archives, RG 21 E6, Imparances, 89, Thomas Smallwood v. Abraham Cole, Nov. 1842.

¹⁸ The 1834 City directory lists John F. Cook, “Messenger in State Dept.” He was also referred to as “a clerk at the Navy Department” in 1835. Other sources state that Cook left Government service in 1833, when he took over the Union Seminary.

¹⁹ Goodwin, op. cit., 200

²⁰ Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation’s Capital* (Princeton UP, 1967), 36; Corrigan, op. cit., 197, 200; Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 125–6; Provine, op. cit., 22, 85; Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 4, 454.

²¹ Goodwin, op. cit., 201.

²² Corrigan, op. cit., 60, 214.

²³ Hilyer, op.cit., 7.

²⁴ Goodwin op. cit., 203

- ²⁵ See Green, *Secret City*, op. cit., 26, Provine, op. cit., 52
- ²⁶ Hilyer, op. cit., 125.
- ²⁷ See footnote 2. The family's history is described in detail in John Paynter, *Fugitives of The Pearl*, reprint of 1930 ed. (New York: AMS Press, 1971).
- ²⁸ Dorothy S. Provine, *Alexandria County, Virginia Free Negro Registers, 1797–1861* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1990),
- ²⁹ Goodwin, op. cit., 284.
- ³⁰ Extracts from Alexandria County Minute Books provided by Tim Dennee.
- ³¹ M.B. Goodwin stated that Judge Morsell was “always regarded by the colored people of the District as their firm friend and protector.” Goodwin, op. cit. 215.
- ³² Ibid., 214.
- ³³ Plummer, op.cit., 48–49.
- ³⁴ Francine Curro Cary, *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) 41, 47–8.
- ³⁵ Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1921), 180–1.
- ³⁶ William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising*. Reprint of 1887 ed. (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970). 663
- ³⁷ Research by Philip J. Schwarz, Va Commonwealth University; Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 4., 184. *Men of Mark* states that Grimes was baptized in 1840 by Rev. William Williams in Washington.
- ³⁸ See Harrold, “Freeing the Weems Family, op. cit., 302.
- ³⁹ Arthur Waring and Isaac Carey were the other two delegates. Bell, op. cit., 25.
- ⁴⁰ William D. Hoyt Jr., “Washington's Living History: the Post Office Fire and Other Matters, 1834–39,” *CHS Records*, 46–7 (1944–5), 49–70. The author of this letter was a clerk in the Patent Office, which shared premises with the Post Office in 1835.
- ⁴¹ Paul Jennings's *A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison* (Brooklyn: George C. Beadle, 1865) does not describe his own role in the Pearl Affair; he was identified as an organizer by John Paynter, an Edmonson descendant, in *Fugitives of the Pearl* (Washington, D.C.: Association Publishers, 1930), 20–22.
- ⁴² G. Franklin Edwards and Michael R. Winston, “Commentary: the Washington of Paul Jennings – White House Slave, Free Man and Conspirator for Freedom,” *White House History*, 1 (1983), 52–63.
- ⁴³ Nina Honemond Clarke, *History of the Nineteenth-Century Black Churches in Maryland and Washington, D.C.* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983) 16; Smallwood, op. cit., 29–31.
- ⁴⁴ Smallwood, op. cit, 25–27.
- ⁴⁵ Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States In the Years 1853–54* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904) 16–17; see Part IV, Introduction to African American Institutions, v.
- ⁴⁶ Goodwin, op. cit., 211
- ⁴⁷ Edward Ingle, *The Negro in the District of Columbia*, Repr 1893 ed. (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 23; Goodwin, op. cit., 214.
- ⁴⁸ Dorothy Provine published a portrait of Muse in volume 2 of *District of Columbia Free Negro Registers*, op. cit.
- ⁴⁹ See Cromwell, op. cit., 70–1; Smallwood, op. cit., 37–8. Daniel A. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Rev. C.S. Smith, ed. (Nashville: Publishing House of the A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1891), 38. Payne stated that Nichols “was a

man of more than ordinary intelligence, and was firmly opposed to the extravagant zeal and rude manner which distinguished so many of the leading men of our denomination in the city of Washington, D.C....”

⁵⁰ Josephus Roosevelt Coan, *Daniel Alexander Payne, Christian Educator* (Philadelphia: AME Book Concern, 1935), 62.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 66–6; Logan and Winston, eds., op. cit., 484;

⁵² Harrold, “Borders of Slavery,” op. cit.,

⁵³ Smallwood, op. cit., 38.

⁵⁴ Hilyer, op. cit., 10. Bell, op. cit., 8–9; Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 3, 153.

⁵⁵ Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capital 1800–1878* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962) 146.

⁵⁶ DC marriage registers indicate that Thomas Smallwood married Elizabeth Anderson on 24 February 1836. Provine, op. cit., Vol. 2, 240n.

⁵⁷ For their certificates of freedom, John B. Ferguson swore in 1843 that Elizabeth Anderson Smallwood (35 years old) and her children, Thomas Smallwood (ca 12), Catharine Smallwood (ca. 10), Susan Smallwood (ca. 6), William Smallwood (ca 5), and Celestine Smallwood (one month) were all born free. *Ibid.*, 486.

⁵⁸ Smallwood said that he had been bequeathed to the wife of Ferguson and her children. Ferguson, “no friend to slavery,” arranged to buy Smallwood (for \$500) with the intention of freeing him. Smallwood claimed he served until he was 30, hired his time for about 5 years (before that), and that he owed \$60 at the end of his service, a sum he fully repaid. This detail is not entirely consistent with the manumission record in by Dorothy Provine: his manumission from John B. Ferguson “in consideration of \$5” was recorded in October 1842, when Smallwood was forty two years old. Provine op. cit., Vol. 2, 439–40.

⁵⁹ Smallwood, op. cit., National Archives, RG 21 E6, Imparances, 89, Smallwood v. Cole, Nov. 1842.

⁶⁰ Harrold, “On the Borders of Slavery and Race,” op. cit., 278. Part of the research challenge of finding Smallwood’s address is that three African Americans named Thomas Smallwood resided in the District during the same period.

⁶¹ Rev. David Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith of the A. M. E. Church; Being a Complete History*,... (Repr. 1881 ed., Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 45–55.

⁶² Goodwin, op. cit., 200.

⁶³ See Ingle, op. cit., 12–13; Brown, op. cit., 207f; Corrigan, op. cit., 182.

⁶⁴ Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 4, 455.

⁶⁵ Woodson, op. cit., 136; Edward D. Smith, *Climbing Jacob’s Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740–1877* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

⁶⁶ Bell, op. cit.

⁶⁷ See Corrigan, op. cit., 187, 199; Historical Society of Washington D.C., *The Measure of a Man: James Wormley*, Exhibition Catalogue, 1993; “James Wormley’s efforts on behalf of equal rights led to a close friendship with Senator Charles Sumner and others working to extend the rights of African Americans in the post-Civil War period.”

⁶⁸ Corrigan, op. cit., 211, 193; see also Clarke, op. cit., 97

⁶⁹ Goodwin, op. cit., 212

⁷⁰ Harrold, *Gamaliel Bailey*, op. cit.; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 496.

⁷¹ Robert R. Hershman and Edward T. Stafford, *Growing with Washington: The Story of Our First Hundred Years*. Albert W. Atwood, ed. (Washington: Washington Gas Light Company, 1948). 28, 90.

⁷² William Still, *The Underground Rail Road. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c....* (Repr. 1871 ed. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970), 18 22, 26 150 174–77.

- ⁷³ George Howard Connaughton, "The Anti-Slavery Movement in the District of Columbia," (MA, Ohio State University, 1934), 116; Wilbur Henry Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (Reprint of 1898 ed. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 117
- ⁷⁴ Corrigan, op. cit., 296, fn.
- ⁷⁵ Stanley Harrold, *American Abolitionists* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 40.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., 70; Harrold, "Freeing the Weems Family," op.cit., 295.
- ⁷⁷ Hanchett, op. cit., 22, 34 fn7.
- ⁷⁸ Ralph Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York: Russell & Russell), 1972, c.1939), 291–95.
- ⁷⁹ See Walter C. Clephane, "Lewis Clephane: A Pioneer Washington Republican," *CHS Records*, 21 (1918), 263–77.
- ⁸⁰ Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, *A History of the National Capital...* Vol. 2, (New York: Macmillan, 1914–16), 393; See also Kathleen Trainor, "'But the Choir Did Not Sing': How the Civil War Split First Unitarian Church," *Washington History*, 7, 2 (Fall/Winter 1995–96), 54–70 and Moncure Conway, *Autobiography, Memories and Experiences...* (NY Houghton Mifflin, 1904).
- ⁸¹ Goodwin, op. cit., 217
- ⁸² *The Trial of Reuben Crandall, M.D., Charged with Publishing and Circulating Seditious and Incendiary Papers, Etc. in the District of Columbia, with the Intent of Exciting Servile Insurrection...* (Washington City, Printed for the Proprietors, 1836); Neil S. Kramer, "The Trial of Reuben Crandall," *CHS Records*, 50 (1989), 123–39.
- ⁸³ Harrold, "Freeing the Weems Family," op. cit., 302
- ⁸⁴ See James Brewer Stewart, *Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1970).
- ⁸⁵ David A. Hall also wrote *A Digested Index of the Laws of the City of Washington* (1829) and *Contested Elections...in Congress* (1834).
- ⁸⁶ Ripley, ed., op. cit., Vol. 3, 429; Theodore Dodge Gatchel, *Rambling Through Washington, an Account of the Old and New Landmarks in Our Capital City* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Journal, 1932), 99. Harlow, op. cit., 291–95.
- ⁸⁷ Douglass Zevely, "Old Houses on C St and Those Who Lived There," *CHS Records* 5 (1901) 166–70.
- ⁸⁸ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons), vol. 12, 244; Benjamin Lundy, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy...* Compiled under the Direction and on Behalf of His Children (Philadelphia: William D. Parrish, 1847) 13, 20, 30.
- ⁸⁹ Joan M Dixon, *National Intelligencer & Washington Advertiser Newspaper Abstracts*, Vol. 8 (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 111; reminiscences of McLeod as a teacher can be found in Sarah E. Vedder, *Reminiscences of the District of Columbia, or, Washington City Seventy-nine Years Ago, 1830–1909* (St. Louis, Mo.: A.R. Fleming Printing Co., 1909), 28.
- ⁹⁰ See, for example, Michael Elusche, "Antislavery and Spiritualism: Myrtilla Miner and her School," *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, 59, 2 (1975), 149–72; Philip Sheldon Foner, *Three Who Dared: Prudence Crandall, Margaret Douglass, Myrtilla Miner: Champions of Antebellum Black Education*. (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1984); Ellen M. O'Connor, *Myrtilla Miner; a Memoir* (Miami: Mnemosyne Pub. Co., 1969).
- ⁹¹ Smallwood, op. cit, 18; see also Harrold, "On the Borders of Slavery and Race," op. cit.
- ⁹² Harrold, "On the Borders of Slavery and Race," op. cit.
- ⁹³ Thomas Cornell Battle, "Published Resources for the Study of Blacks in the District of Columbia: An Annotated Guide." Ph.D., George Washington University, 1982, 10.
- ⁹⁴ Connaughton, op.cit., 126
- ⁹⁵ Harrold, "On the Borders of Slavery and Race," op. cit.

⁹⁶ John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold, eds., *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 191n.

⁹⁷ See Harrold, op. cit., “On the Border of Slavery and Race;” see also Joseph C. Lovejoy, *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey, Who Died in the Penitentiary of Maryland, Where He was Confined for Showing Mercy to the Poor* (Repr. 1847 edition, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969).; William Weston Patton, *Freedom’s Martyr: A Discourse on the Death of the Rev. Charles T. Torrey* (Hartford, Ct.: William H. Burleigh, 1846); Almon Underwood, *A Discourse on the Death of the Late Rev. C.T. Torrey, a Martyr to Human Rights. Delivered in Newark, N.J., June 7, 1846* (Newark: Small & Ackerman, 1846).